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Book IV

The Tuareg of the Ahaggar

Social Organization

The Ahaggar Confederation

Chapter 1

Social Organization

101 Here we shall speak of the Tuareg of the Ahaggar. But since all of the Tuareg form a quite homogeneous ethnic group, what we [184 say about their /Tuareg of the Ahaggar/ social organization will, in 177] general, be valid for the whole, although their social organization remained more sheltered from foreign influences than that of the other groups, because of their isolation in the heart of the Sahara.

The Ihaggaren /Ahaggaren/ may thus be considered, as a result of that isolation, the witnesses and representatives of Tuareg civilization.

565 Classes and castes. -- Social organization among them /the Tuareg/ shows strong analogies with our ancient feudal system. Indeed, there is a chief whose nominal authority holds sway over all the tribes, a class system (aserkam) which divides tribes into suzerains and vassals, religious elements and serfs, enfeoffed the ones to the others, and an artisan class.

564 Classes in so-called primitive societies are born out of private 565 property, wealth, and the authority of the strong who become the protectors of the weak, and have had as a corollary war and slavery. The caste system, which is an accentuated form of the class system,

565 includes hereditary specialization, hierarchy, repulsion between the
564 different groups, and refusal to associate with people of a different caste. These principles are partly in force among the Tuareg, whose type of social organization borrows from the two systems.

/150/ Furthermore, there are great analogies between the two systems. This sort of aristocratic organization is well suited to nomadic life, in opposition to democratic organization which is more commonly found among sedentary groups.

171 According to some authors, the caste system is specifically Hindu; it only existed in its pure state in India and to a lesser de-
564 gree in ancient Egypt. (1) Thus we are hardly surprised to find this

1. Deniker, Les races et les peuples de la terre /The Races and Peoples of the World/, p. 489.

organization among the Tuareg who, culturally, belong to the same cycle of civilization.

182 The crystallization of that organization among this people,
564 who on the whole possess quite high intellectual qualities, as well as the material crystallization, can only be explained by the isolation in which it was confined as a result of circumstances where climate has certainly played a large role.

565 The Tuareg are divided into suzerains (Imochar) of a specifically warlike nature, vassals (Imrad) most commonly shepherds, religious men (Inislimen), and serfs (Iklân). Other elements from different origins are enfeoffed to them, such as the Issekkemâren, the Iboroliten, and the Enaden.

174 The present hierarchy obviously results from a series of wars
182 and civil conflicts. In the fight for life each person endeavored to get his share, and as always this was at the expense of the weaker.
565 Tribes achieved a predominance which they were not always able

567 have been freed as a group as a reward for some outstanding action. Nicolas mentions the present Tamjert fraction in the center of Tahoua who were freed after the battle of Izerwan where they had courageously resisted the Kel Ahaggar (1898). Many Iderfan go back to cultivation. They often live with the sedentary groups, with whom they join forces. They do small services for the latter, such as tending their flocks.

114 563 567 Nicolas likens them to the Harratines of the Kel Ahaggar. This is only partially justified, for, although it is true that a few former slaves work in the centers of cultivation of the Ahaggar, the majority of the Harratin are Negroes from the Tidikelt who freely came to get jobs among the Tuareg. Thus, we must not confuse the Harratin with the Iderfan.

567 As in the case of the Iklan-n-Egef, there are no Iderfan in the Ahaggar except in isolated cases.

● 564 The Enaden. -- The Enaden (singular, Enad) form the artisan class of the Tuareg. In the Sudan they are called /174/ garassa or gargassa, which is very probably of Sonrhaï origin.

[192] The word Enadan probably comes from enad, meaning "the other," extended to mean "those we don't talk about." (1) This is

1. Nicolas, op. cit., pp. 579-586.

because the Enaden form a closed caste, scorned and cursed by the Tuareg whose repulsion for manual labor is well known.

463 564 Their role is to manufacture anything the Tuareg may have need of: weapons, wooden table utensils, tent pegs, mehari saddles, and harnessing articles.

[757] 752] In addition, they also willingly engage in the business of barber-surgeon, and with the little instruments they make they adroitly do bloodletting, cupping, scarification, and other little operations of the same order, including tooth extraction. They are remunerated [465] for their work when they work for tribes, or, if they are attached to a master, he has them entirely at his disposal.

564 The Tuareg, who heartily scorn them because of their obscure origin and servile profession, recognize their good qualities and are happy to profit from them. They also fear them a good deal, for [754] they credit them with supernatural powers of sorcery and magic. Possessors of fire, mistreating the earth and the minerals by beating them, they are placed in a world apart, inhabited by the genii with [751] whom they are likely to enter into relations. Although the Moslem marabouts willingly sell amulets, which the Tuareg prize, the latter do not hesitate, in case of need, to ask the Enaden for amulets in preference.

The Enaden are still more despised because they have no moral principles and willingly serve as spies and traitors; they spy on the [837] Iklan and the wives of their masters and also act as go-between for lovers. Like the jesters in our Middle Ages, they have the right to go anywhere, including among the women. Everyone finds this natural, for this is a right which is all but acknowledged.

Sometimes they take part in raids, and they are reputed to fight [726] bravely, although no one wants to stay beside them during combat, since they seem to possess talismans so powerful that javelins directed toward them deviate /175/ from their route and are apt to strike those [626] nearby. The Tuareg never kill an Enad, for this brings misfortune and the Enad might take revenge from beyond the tomb.

In Sudanese tribes they are called ag'gou (plural, ag'gouten) and 184 sometimes play the part of jesters (griot). Some are musicians and 564 storytellers. This role is not widespread, but it happens that the amenokal of the Tenguéréguif, Chéboun, has several griots attached to his person. They avenge themselves on people who are not [626] generous enough to them by making satirical songs against them to which the Tuareg are often very sensitive.

564 They are willing to do anything to earn a bit of money, which 436 they spend as fast as they get it. A blacksmith always has his debts, 454 but people give him credit for they know that he will be shrewd enough to repay them one day.

564 We must acknowledge that the [153] Enaden often have very open minds and are gifted with an intelligence higher than the average of the ma- 564 jority of the Tuareg. That is why 644 they have sometimes filled trusted posts with the principal chiefs, who have used them as emissaries or interpreters, indeed even as [152] counselors.

Thus, at the time of the Hourst mission in 1896, Madidou, aménokal of the Ioullimmiden, officially delegated one of them to Gao to deal with the French officer.

564 The Enaden live either in camp 361 groups or in isolated tents or even individually; they are attached to a chief or a tribe.

564 Although they are foreign to the Tuareg race, they still enter into the components of the great family of veiled men, for the lives /176/ of the two groups are often intermingled. They speak Tamashek, [198] more specifically a special dialect, tenet, which they alone understand and which is a bit secret in nature. This dialect is unknown in the Ahaggar.

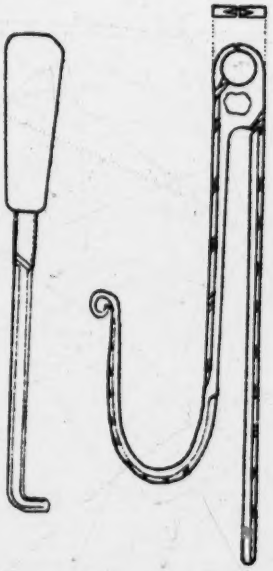

Fig. 17. Forceps for extracting teeth and instrument used for laying bare the roots.

[173] Legend attributes to them a common ancester named Tamamenet, and all of their fractions are supposed to have originated in Adrar des Iforas. Their true origin is as obscure as [174] can be; we are apt to say that they are descendants of the Jews who formerly lived at the Touat, in the Tamentit oasis, from which they

were chased by Arab marabouts at the end of the fifteenth century. It is plausible that a number of Jews from Tamentit, particularly those practicing the crafts of jeweler or blacksmith, very respected professions among the Tuareg, found refuge with them. Perhaps the Tuareg received a new artistic influence through them. Their knowledge /177/ of fire and treatment of ores must have permitted the introduction of a larger scale of iron industry among the Tuareg, as well as the use of metal instruments which certainly could not have been very developed before that time; in general, the techniques of the nomadic shepherds was limited to leather and wood. There is no doubt of the artistic relationship between Tamentit jewelry and the Jewish goldsmith's work from North Africa, on the one hand, and the goldsmith's craft now in vogue among the Tuareg, on the other; this can justify the opinion that part of the Enaden are of Israelite origin. But Sudanese elements have also contributed to the physical formation of the group. We must see the peculiar Tuareg art, at the same time heavy in its forms and delicate in detail, through this heteroclite mixture.

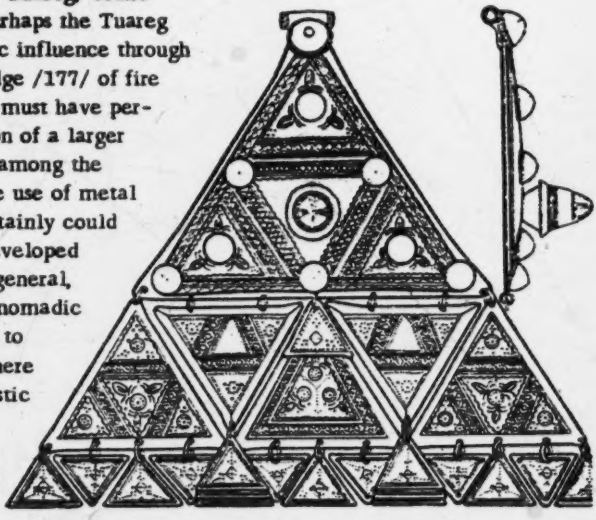

Fig. 18. Silver pendant worn around the neck by Ahaggar women. In the composition are found the triangular motifs common to Kabyle art and to some Berber tribes from Atlas.

The Enaden of the Ahaggar are few in number. They include five or six families who recently settled in the country following raids on them by the Ihaggaren. /178/ Most of them are natives of Adrar des Iforas

and were enfeoffed to the Kounta tribe, or Dag-Ech-Cheich. The origin of the oldest known families goes back no more than two generations. They are the Ehellellou, who have left descendants, the Badahol and Mohamed /families/, today extinct, and the Rati whose descendants are now settled among the Taitok. 564

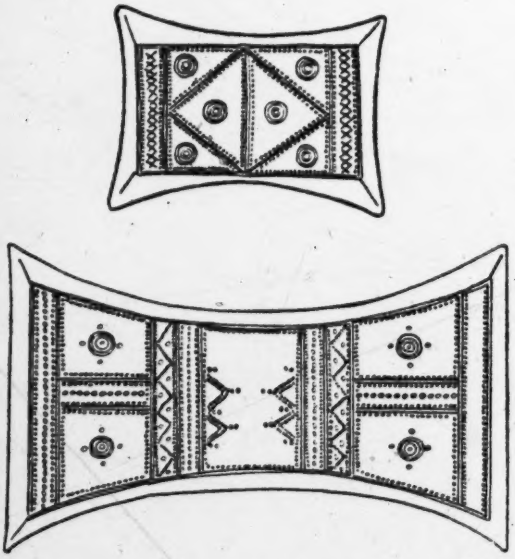

Fig. 19. Silver amulets worn by men on the crests of their hairdo.

At the time of Amenokal Attici (1899) there was a chief of the blacksmiths named Alamine whose role was to oversee and distribute the work and to reduce the newly captured blacksmiths from the Sudan to obedience. He also had judiciary power. 564 326 [301 789 531] [697]

Formerly endogamy was the general rule, but since the occupation it has been violated numerous times, and artisans often take their wives from the Harratin and the Eklan. 564 [582 177]

Their industry is limited to the fabrication of jewels, padlocks, knives, and a few wooden utensils. They are particularly occupied with repairing worn articles.

/179/ In the Sudan the Enaden are much more numerous. That is why industries there are found to be much more developed, even more so since more varied and more abundant raw materials are at their disposal. 564

564 The Enaden do not pay any vassalage dues. Socially, they [651] occupy a place halfway between the Imrad and the Iklan. In certain cases they can even possess captives, and many of them have [567] at their command an affluence unknown among the Imrad, and

[414 531 326]

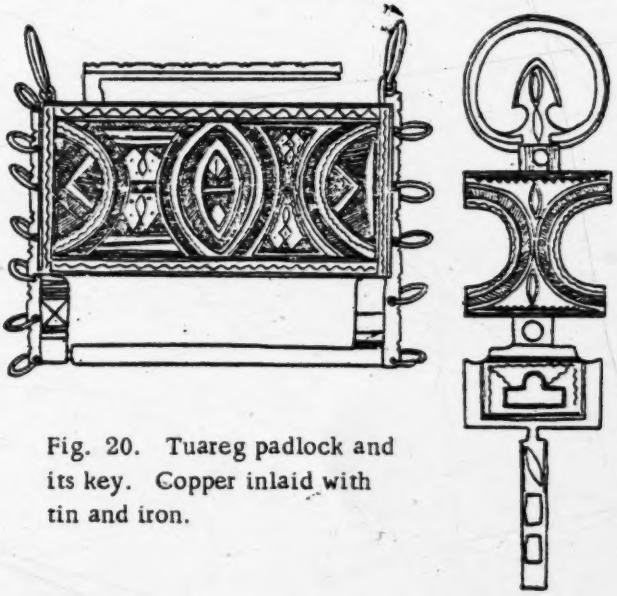

Fig. 20. Tuareg padlock and its key. Copper inlaid with tin and iron.

even among some Imochar.

/180/ Chapter 2

Confederation of the Ahaggar

173 Oral traditions handed down among the northern Tuareg maintain that they originally came from the city of Es-Souq in Adrar des Iforas, known as Tademeka in ancient times, and equidistant from Timbuktu and In-Salah.

If, secondly, we look for the aptitudes which the Tuareg have for working these different raw materials, we notice that their enumeration follows the same order as above, with the reservation that none of them know how to work metals. The latter occupations are the prerogative of the Enaden, that is to say, the artisans, and it is evident from this that without the artisans' help Tuareg industry would be limited to work in wood, leather, and esparto. In short, it is the cultural cycle of the pastoral peoples of the steppe.

It is only much later, when the Tuareg had integrated the Enaden with their social organization, that they used metals. Therefore, we perceive the considerable role which artisans must have played in technical evolution and that of art itself.

Fig. 46. Wooden funnel.

/277/ The presence of Enaden in the camps has reduced the manual labor of the Tuareg, but the latter are still able to make wooden articles -- milking vessels, bowls, tent stakes, etc.

One of their most curious customs is that women from the high nobility work wooden vessels and funnels with their hands by means of a little adze. They usually give them to the wives of their Imrad, who are very appreciative of these gifts. In the Ahaggar camps we found many little utensils which were the work of famous noble-women, of tamenokalin whose names are piously kept; these objects were saved with much veneration. This custom is even more remarkable since we know the scorn that the Tuareg have for manual labor; we must see in it a relic of woodworking which must formerly have been everyone's work, without distinction, before the creation of the artisan class.

283 Spinning is done by all Tuareg women. They spin the hair of the
462 goat, the camel, and the wild sheep, making very solid cords and saddle girths.

286 Weaving is limited to the making of goat's-hair, or more rarely camel's-hair, bags. This is a very primitive technique which does not require any loom and which is, furthermore, in the process of disappearing from the Ahaggar, where only a few noblewomen still practice it. It is completely extinct in Sudanese tribes.

324 Stonework, a relic of Neolithism, was still carried on in the Ahaggar
438 a few years ago to make arm rings. Layers of granitoid schists were formerly worked [415 at Aseksem and Terahart in the Tafedest. We also found 323] an ancient workshop south of Silet on the banks of the Tamanrasset wadi. Today all stone bracelets come from Air and a few from Hombori, where they are manufactured by Tuareg or Hausa artisans.

Fig. 48. Tabarekkat wooden ladle, also serving as a drinking vessel.

326 Metalworking is exclusively in the hands of the Enaden, who transform
[567 silver, copper, and iron. These materials, with the exception of iron, do not exist in a native, workable state in the Ahaggar. But although iron [135 ore is common /279/ in some volcanic rocks of their country, the Tuareg do not have it exploited, for it is found in such small particles that it necessitates a disproportionate amount of forge work for the quantity likely to be recovered. Nevertheless, the memory of casting ore still remains among the Enaden. They use several forges at once, but do not know [439 the blast furnace. The caravaneers coming from the north or from the Sudan used to bring metals.

117 At the present time silver comes from coins which are melted. For
326 years the Tuareg have had Maria Theresa dollars at their disposal; these

571 /48 cont./ Each tribe possessed slaves (iklan), bought or
564 captured in the Sudan. They lived with Tuareg families, carry-
[567] ing out domestic chores, tending goats, extracting salt, digging wells. These slave families were an integral part of the tribe and followed it in its moves.

The harratin were free or freed men, generally Negroes, often natives of the Touat, come to cultivate the arable lands of the Ahaggar. They worked under two contract systems, which are still in force and which we shall study further on.

The Tribes

631 In the preceding chapter we saw that each noble tribe possessed imrads, or vassals. Each of these imrad tribes has a chief called "amrar," who rules the tribe according to custom. A tribe can be divided and subdivided. The tribe possesses a pasture region of its own, in which no other tribe may sojourn without a previous agreement with the amenokal, and that only in exceptional circumstances. The nobles may sojourn as they like on the lands of the vassals. The imrad tribes pay a due to the amenokal as a sign of their vassalage. This tax is called "tioussé." The payments are always in kind and in general are scrupulously discharged. This revenue enables the amenokal to uphold his rank suitably during the almost daily receptions, but it is not enough to cover the expenses of his command completely.

/49/ The Nobles

565 The Kel Rela at present constitute the most important noble tribe of the Ahaggar. These nobles, called in Tamashek "ihaggarènes," are split into three subgroups: the iboglanes, the inembas, and the ikérémoïens. These subgroups are related and increasingly practice endogamy.

The Kel Rela are without doubt the handsomest specimens of the Tuareg type. Does this derive from the fact that they have

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 5. Veiled vassal Tuareg. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

Fig. 6. Irrigation farmer of the *Iburelliten*, that is descendants of mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and Negroes. The man is patrilineally releated to the noble *Tayiok* tribe, matrilineally to slaves. Ahaggar, Amsel.

181 and there are indeed many Tuareg both in Ahaggar and in Ayr who wear Islamic amulets which are believed to make the wearers look "great and important". "Prestige" is constantly in the mind of all Tuareg who are much more sophisticated than other people living within their country.

181 Most true Tuareg are nomadic stock-breeders who will not engage in the strenuous work of irriga-
433 tion agriculture. The Tuareg will readily engage in any strenuous work connected with stock-breeding,
461 caravan trading, and in the past also in raiding expeditions, which were organized by people of the nobility, but agricultural work is generally much despised. However, there are in all groups certain families or tribes the members of which subsist predominantly by agriculture, and are nevertheless considered true Tuareg by pastoralists. These agricultural Tuareg will be mentioned in a later chapter,
564 and we shall now pass on to a brief description of various negroid castes and of other non-Tuareg
567 people living within the boundaries of Tuareg territory:—

Iklan (sing. *Akli*). These are the proper slaves who are very negroid. Nicolas believes that the word *Akli* (pl. *Iklan*) is in fact derived from a k-l root meaning "to be black" (Nicolas 1950a, p. 189), but

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Fig. 7. Tuareg boy of the vassal tribe *Imezzureg* in Ayr.

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Foucauld states that it does not refer to black skin-colour but only to membership of a particular caste (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 787). However, Tuareg slaves are Negroes taken during raids and warfare in the Sudan or bought from slave markets in Sudanese towns and cities. The Sudanese origin of slaves is also indicated by the Ahaggar word *Ibenheren* (sing. *Ébenher*), which term refers to a slave who speaks only a Sudanese language. It is frequently used by Northern Tuareg as an abuse of their

[648] slaves, particularly of slave children. Among the Northern Tuareg slavery is still practised with the tacit consent of the French military administration. Most Tuareg of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer have slaves to take care of flocks and herds and to perform various domestic tasks. These slaves live in pastoral camps of the Tuareg, and in Ahaggar they have frequently told me that they felt superior to the black-skinned agriculturists though the latter largely descend from freed slaves. In the Southern

[648] Tuareg groups slavery is officially abolished, perhaps because the Southern Tuareg are governed by civil administrators. But it seems as if the official abolition of slavery in the south was also a result of the Tuareg revolt against the French 1916–1917, and very few Ayr Tuareg have slaves nowadays. However, the manumission of slaves is not just a recent phenomenon due to European influence. Slaves have been freed long before the advent of French colonization at the beginning of our century. There are in the south whole groups of slaves who have been manumitted at an unknown date in the past, and these people are known among the Ayr Tuareg by the term *Iṛawélen* most of whom are nomadic stock-breeders culturally akin to true pastoral Tuareg. They are also known by the Hausa term *Buzu*, which term again corresponds to the Sonray word *Bélla*. This latter word, however, may sometimes refer also to people who are considered a kind of slaves by the Tuareg. Nicolas divides the freed slaves among the *Iwillemmeden* into three groups, viz. *Iklan-n-Egef*, *Irawelan*, and *Iderfan*. The two first groups comprise pastoralists also known as *Buzu*, or *Bélla*, while most members of the last

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

group are sedentary agriculturists (Nicolas 1950a, p. 190). In Ahaggar most freed slaves have become incorporated in the negroid caste now to be mentioned. 564 567

Izeggaren (sing. *Azeggaf*). This term designates the caste of agricultural Negroes known to the Arabs as *Ḥarratin* (sing. *Ḥartani*). In Ahaggar this caste has a rather mixed origin. It did not exist in this 564

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Fig. 8. Vassal woman with amulet cases and snail-shells hanging around her neck. Ahaggar, the *Ajjak-en-tehâ* tribe.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

564 region until about a hundred years ago. During the reign of the Ahaggar *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed*
463 (1830–1877) black-skinned agriculturists of the Tidikelt oases immigrated to Ahaggar to cultivate
567 gardens on behalf of the pastoral Tuareg. The agriculturists of Tidikelt when settled in Ahaggar were joined by many Tuareg slaves (*Iklan*) who are now free and known as *Izeggaren*, or *Harratin*, like the
191 immigrants. People of this particular caste, as a result of its mixed origin, are frequently bilingual,
144 speaking Arabic as well as Tuareg language (*tamahaq*). The *Izeggaren* (*Harratin*) are generally less
142 negroid than the slaves. They are racially very mixed and many of them have certain europid features. Their skin-colour is less frequently black than dark brown, and the name *Izeggaren* (sing. *Azeggar*) refers to that particular colour. An agricultural caste identical with that of *Izeggaren* does not seem to exist in other Tuareg groups, but a negroid agricultural population of the Rat oasis known as *Ikewweren* apparently has much the same status. A few families of the agriculturists living at Abalessa in Ahaggar claim descent from *Ikewweren* immigrants.

361 *Kel Ĝanet* (sing. *W Ĝanet*). This word refers to the inhabitants of the Ĝanet (Djanet) oasis in Tasilé-
144 n-Ajjer. The population of this oasis is a very mixed one. Negroid types are prevalent but fair-skinned
565 europid types are not uncommon. In Tasilé-n-Ajjer the *Kel Ĝanet* have much the same position as
567 Tuareg vassals (Imrad), while in Ahaggar, where there are *Kel Ĝanet* immigrants, their status is rather like that of other sedentary agriculturists mentioned above. In their homeland the *Kel Ĝanet* may possess slaves like other Tuareg vassals, but those living in Ahaggar are never slave-owners.

564 *Ineden* (*Ineden* in Ahaggar) (sing. *Ênad*). These are the blacksmiths who are found in all Tuareg
326 groups. They form a very important caste as Tuareg craft is little developed. The Tuareg obtain their weapons and many other implements from the blacksmiths who also make silver ornaments for Tuareg women. If it were not for the blacksmiths the Tuareg material culture would indeed be a poor one. People of the other black-skinned castes are also highly dependent upon the blacksmiths who make
162 hoes, sickles, and the like. In the two groups of Northern Tuareg there are very few blacksmiths – only a few families who live in agricultural settlements. In Southern Tuareg groups blacksmiths are very numerous, and many of them lead a pastoral life similar to that of the true Tuareg. The origin of the
564 blacksmith caste is unknown. Many blacksmiths claim their ancestor or patron saint to be *Sidna*
173 *Dawud*, that is "Our Lord David", who is said to have lived in an eastern country near Mekka. This myth intimates Jewish descent and it is a fact that there are many Jews among smiths and goldsmiths in Northern Africa and in the Middle East. This is well documented in literature (cf. Nicolaisen 1963). A relationship between Tuareg blacksmiths and Jews is also in accordance with two traditions told about the immigration of blacksmiths to Tuareg countries:— 1) According to a tradition collected by Lhote, the blacksmiths descend from Jews who originally lived in the oasis of Tementit in Tawat. At the end of the 15th century they were driven southwards by the Arabs (Lhote 1955a, p. 210 f.). 2) A tradition collected by Foucauld claims the blacksmiths to be Jews from Morocco. They followed Berber-speaking tribes from that area on their southwards migration along the Atlantic coast (Foucauld 1951–52, III, p. 1300). These traditions are interesting and they do not disagree with the fact that most blacksmiths among the Northern Tuareg comparatively recently have immigrated from Ayr and
564 Adrar-n-Foras. It is difficult to state the original racial position of the blacksmiths. Though most of
144 them are predominantly negroid there are also rather europid types among them, and Tuareg of Ayr

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[184] Fig. 9. Vassal woman with her child straddling over the right hip. The Tuareg generally carry their children in this way though certain Ayr Tuareg have adopted the Sudanese fashion of carrying children on the back. Ahaggar, the *Ajuh-en-tehli* tribe.

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have expressed as their opinion that the blacksmiths originally constituted a fair-skinned Tuareg population who mixed with black-skinned Sudanese people like so many true Tuareg. It is interesting that Tuareg blacksmiths have a peculiar language of their own known as *ténet*. This language has unfortunately never been studied. It is used by the blacksmiths mainly as a secret language spoken when they do not want other people to understand them, whereas blacksmiths use Tuareg (*tamachek*) as their family language. The Ayr Tuareg consider the *ténet*-language an invention of the blacksmiths.

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Fig. 10. Young man of the sedentary *Kel Ganet* of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. He is yet too young to wear the veil which is used also by these Tuareg-speaking people of Ganet.

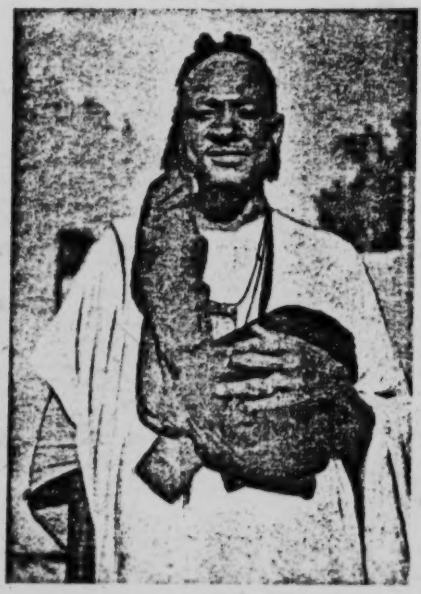

Fig. 11. Unveiled blacksmith. His racial features are predominantly negroid though his skin colour is yellow-brown rather than black. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

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From Ayr Tuareg who had much contact with blacksmiths I collected the following words of *ténet* language:—

ténet	*tamachek*	*English*
wochimbagen	*ineden*	blacksmiths
wotilkum	*echink*	porridge
tikulkumin (pl.)	*tikammarin*	cheese
ohundegan	*aman*	water
ogera	*éref*	head
tokonderey	*timezzugin*	ears
tedroragen	*tiiawin*	eyes

Prasse is of the opinion that the secret language of the blacksmiths is a kind of slang consisting of circumlocutions of everyday words, but derived from nothing but the local dialect itself. He suggests the following tentative interpretations of some of the words I have noted:— *wa chenbeyen* = "the blackheaded one"; *wa s ilkem* = "the one it follows" or: "sticks to"; *agera* = "leather bag".

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

The Ayr Tuareg say that the blacksmiths do not have *tènet* words for everything, but always use Tuareg words for certain objects and animals. It is in fact possible that the *tènet* language has been created by the blacksmiths to be used as a secret language. This explanation agrees excellently with the social position of blacksmiths. They make weapons, ornaments, household implements, and the like for the Tuareg. The Tuareg therefore consider them indispensable, and admire them for their skill. But this is only one aspect of the Tuareg attitude towards blacksmiths who are also looked down upon because of their obscure origin and their predominantly negroid appearance. Furthermore, blacksmiths are frequently wearisome to the Tuareg. They claim gifts from the Tuareg on every possible occasion, and if they are given nothing when they ask it is believed that they can do severe harm to the persons from whom a gift is claimed. For the blacksmiths possess a mystic power known to the Ayr Tuareg as *ettama* or *tezma*. This mystic power has nothing to do with black magic. It comes into action automatically without any physical performance by the blacksmith if his demand is ignored. The *ettama* power is dangerous to children and to animals but not so much to adults. Children frequently fall ill with a swollen belly, while the effect on domestic animals is more severe and often causes their death. Though blacksmiths do not perform any physical act to put their mystic power into operation, they are nevertheless held responsible for damage ascribed to it by the Tuareg. This can be illustrated by the following example from Southern Ayr: – An Ayr Tuareg was on his way from Damergu to Ayr with a caravan of camels loaded with millet. One evening at dusk, when he was just about to lead his camels out for grazing at night, a blacksmith came to him to ask for a gift of millet. The Tuareg said that the blacksmith had better wait until next morning as it was already getting dark. The blacksmith went away, and shortly after his departure one of the Tuareg's camels fell ill and died. The Tuareg was convinced that the death of his camel was due to the blacksmith's *ettama* power, and therefore wanted revenge. He mounted a camel, pursued the blacksmith and killed him with an axe. This event happened only a few years ago. It illustrates how firmly many Tuareg believe in the evil *ettama* power of blacksmiths. In fact many Tuareg openly declare that they dislike and fear all blacksmiths. They do not like to associate with them except on festive occasions when blacksmiths frequently act as singers and musicians. The Tuareg never intermarry with people of the blacksmith caste, and even people of other negroid castes are reluctant to intermarry with blacksmiths. In Ahaggar a marriage may be contracted between blacksmiths and *Harratin*, and in Ayr there are said to be a few marriages between blacksmiths and people of other negroid classes or castes. But on the whole the caste of blacksmiths (*Inedan*) can be characterized as endogamous. This is quite natural in view of the fact that blacksmiths possess the evil mystic power (*ettama*, or *tezma*), which I have described in more detail elsewhere (Nicolaisen 1961, pp. 134 f., 146).

Between fair-skinned, true Tuareg and other black-skinned castes but that of the blacksmiths, marriages are contracted now and then, and it seems as if mixed marriages of this type are becoming more and more numerous. In Ahaggar there are some marriages between Tuareg and women belonging to the castes of slaves (*Iklan*) or sedentary agriculturists (*Harratin*, or *Izeggaren*) and there are even marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg women and negroid men though such marriages are less frequent. Mixed marriages are even more frequent in Ayr. The offspring of such unions are known in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer as *Iburelliten* (*Aburelli*). This word is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 12. Blacksmith woman. Ahaggar, Abalessa.

563 they more frequently refer to mulattoes as *Ichardanen* (sing. *Acharda*). Such mulattoes do not form any particular class or caste.

It is stated in almost all writings on the Tuareg that the offspring of mixed marriages will acquire the social status of their mothers, but though this may be theoretically true in some Tuareg groups actual conditions are more complicated. Among *Ineslemen* Tuareg and generally in southern Tuareg [564] groups there is a strong tendency to acknowledge patrilineal affiliation. In Ahaggar classes and castes [565] should ideally be matrilineal organizations. However, this is not always so. A man who descends from a vassal mother and a noble father will not become a true vassal. He will not have to perform any of the obligations characteristic of the vassal class, and to-day he is normally considered noble 563 though he cannot succed to chieftainship in his father's tribe. If a pastoral Tuareg marries a woman 591 of one of the black-skinned castes the children who grow up in the father's camp will frequently remain there as pastoralists and members of their father's tribe. Conversely children descending from a black-skinned father of an agricultural settlement and a fair-skinned pastoral woman will often remain in the settlement to practise agriculture even after their father's death. As to offspring of marriages between Tuareg men and slave women, they will continue to live in the father's tribe as pastoralists, and will frequently acquire the social position of the father as mentioned later in the description of Tuareg slavery. Mixed marriages between fair-skinned Tuareg and people of black-skinned castes constitute a minority. But it seems as if such marriages are on the increase.

101 All the above mentioned peolpe are Tuareg-speaking though part of the sedentary agriculturists of 563 Ahaggar (*Harratin*, or *Izeggaren*) have Arabic as their mother tongue. In Ahaggar there are also many [197] true Arabs – particularly at the administration centre of Tamanṛaset. There are also Arabs at certain other villages in Ahaggar, and there are Arab pastoralists. They have largely mixed with the Tuareg, and certain Arab pastoralists such as the *Ahl Azzi* (*Kel Ḥezzi*) should be classed rather with Tuareg than with Arabs. There are also some Arabs in Ayr. There are Arab traders at Agadez, Iferwan, and Ingal, and there are a few Arab pastoralists who have mixed with pastoral Tuareg of Northern Ayr.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 37. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used in Ayr not only for she-camels but also for cows, sheep, and goats. It is carved out of wood of the *tarza* tree (*tarha* in Ahaggar) (*Calotropis procera*) by a blacksmith. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe. Dimension: 0.285 m high. (N.M. G. 6662).

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Fig. 38. Wooden milk-bowl (*akabar*) of the type used for she-camels in Ahaggar. It was introduced to Ahaggar from the south where it was made by an Ayr blacksmith from wood of the *tarha* tree (*Calotropis procera*). The cracked brim is mended with a piece of raw camel hide. Ahaggar, the *Aghal-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.240 m high. (N.M. G. 5822).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 46. A resting she-camel with the colour name *tawinuɣ*. The colour term of the young she-camel standing in the back-ground is *ténilt*. Ayr, the *Imezzureg* tribe.

In Ayr the Tuareg do not 237
use camel's hide in their crafts, but give it to the blacksmiths who use it for lashing, or to people 564
who manufacture beds from ribs of palm leaves (cf. Fig. 257). The Northern Tuareg use camel-skin 352
for the manufacture of a few household implements and also use it for lashing (cf. p. 84, 110, 222, 824
270 f. & Figs. 70, 86, 132a–b, 161a–d, 162, 213). But even in Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer the skin of camels is little used compared with the skin of goats, sheep, and barbary sheep.

When employed in craft, camel's hide is normally used raw and unprepared after soaking in water, 281
but the Ahaggar Tuareg say that for certain purposes the hide is treated with salt. In literature there 114
are many statements about the tanning of camel's hide. Thus it is stated by Cauvet that the hide is tanned with plant material in Algeria, and Cauvet also quotes Duveyrier's statement that the Northern Tuareg tan camel's hide to use it for tents and various other implements (Cauvet 1925–26, I, p. 714 ff.). I very much doubt the correctness of this, as all Tuareg asked about it have stated that the hide of camels is not fitted for proper tanning. Camel's hide is therefore of very limited use to the Tuareg, and the same is the case with camel's hair or wool. Tuareg camels in Ayr have very little wool, and 237
among the Northern Tuareg most animals have less wool than Arab camels of the Northern Sahara. The Northern Tuareg pluck a little wool with the hands or cut it off with a knife. It is spun into cords 283
to be used for certain minor objects, notably for the manufacture of the plaited pouch (*abeɣu*) to prevent the suckling of calves (p. 62, Fig. 41) and for the particular cord (*asaɣun*) tied around the foreleg of camels to keep them in a reclining position (p. 72, Fig. 45a). Mixed with goat's hair the wool is 286
also used for a kind of primitive weaving (p. 265 ff., Figs. 209a–b).

Camels are very important to the Tuareg as pack-animals for the caravan expeditions which will 492*
be mentioned in a later chapter when other means of subsistence have been described. 484

In the past camels were also extremely valuable as riding animals on raiding expeditions which 492*
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7:Nicolaisen .E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

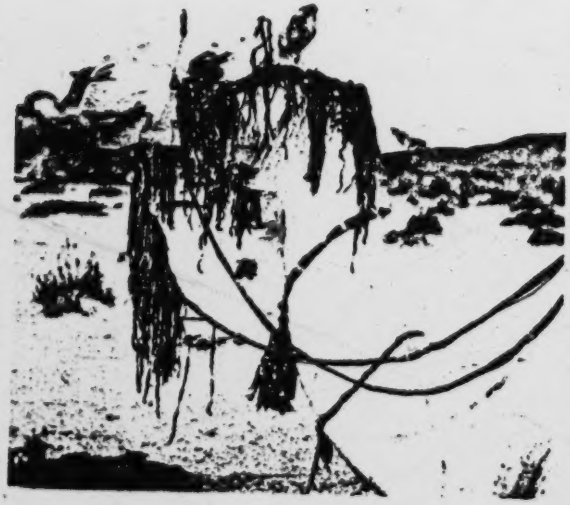

Fig. 52. The *akeskabbu* shakles connected with a leather rein richly decorated with fringes of the same material. This headgear is now in the National Museum (N.M. G. 5192). Hanging around the camel's neck is also a neck collar (*tahawt*) with a brass bell (*anayna*) which is also now in the National Museum (N.M.G: 5191) (cf. Fig. 74b). Below the brass bell is an amulet case fixed to a piece of goat's hair. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe.

camels and for other animals which are difficult to control (Fig. 48). Such halters are known by the term *amerar* among the Ayr Tuareg. Certain camels which are difficult to catch even when hobbled during grazing constantly wear a halter provided with a short rope hanging down from the head – a device applied to many fierce bull-camels (Fig. 56).

To break-in young riding camels the Tuareg frequently use a double rein one end of which is tied around the animal's head to serve as a halter while the other end is noosed around the lower jaw according to the method generally used for pack-camels and described above. But for trained riding camels the nomads normally content themselves with the use of a single rein (generally known as *tafant* in Ahaggar, in Ayr as *trézem*) plaited of goatskin or goat's hair and attached to a copper ring (*tigemt* in Ahaggar) inserted in the right nostril of the camel (cf. Fig. 43). This is done by the blacksmiths who also manufacture a very special headgear (*akeskabbu*, or *taryet* in Ahaggar) for riding camels which are difficult to control. The rider when using such a head-gear has a double rein one end of which is attached to a nostril ring (*tigemt*) while the other end is connected with two iron shackles known as *akeskabbu* (*taryet*) and *amadel*. When the rider pulls the right rein the camel is pulled at the nostril ring, but when he pulls the left rein the two iron shackles are tightened around the bridge of the nose and the lower jaw of the animal. The system is illustrated Figs. 50–52. Blacksmiths also make very elaborate halters of this type to be used mainly as an ornament of riding camels on festive occasions. In such cases the halter as well as the rein are richly decorated with coloured

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

pair of cross-bars is connected with four short sticks of the same material, each being lashed with hide horizontally to the crossbars. This frame is generally manufactured by sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt, who also make the large cushion (*tihekam*) of date palm bast to which the saddle-frame is attached with cords. On rare occasions the Tuareg also have saddle-frames of wood (*tabarekkat*, that is *Tamarix aphylla*) made by the blacksmiths on the same pattern, and they may also use cushions of hay stuffed into a piece of matting. The *élaki*-saddle is used in the following way:— The short, looped cords of the loading bags rest upon the wooden frame in front of the camel's hump and on the rear part of the saddle-cushion. A bunch of grass or date palm bast (*aselki*) is placed under the loading cords that they may not gall the back of the camel. In addition to the proper camel-load divided into two halves (e.g., two large bags) there are frequently many smaller objects to be transported, and these are then attached to the wooden saddle-frame. The *élaki*-saddle normally rests loosely upon the camel's back, but it may be fixed to the animal's back by a girth (*ahayif*). It is also occasionally

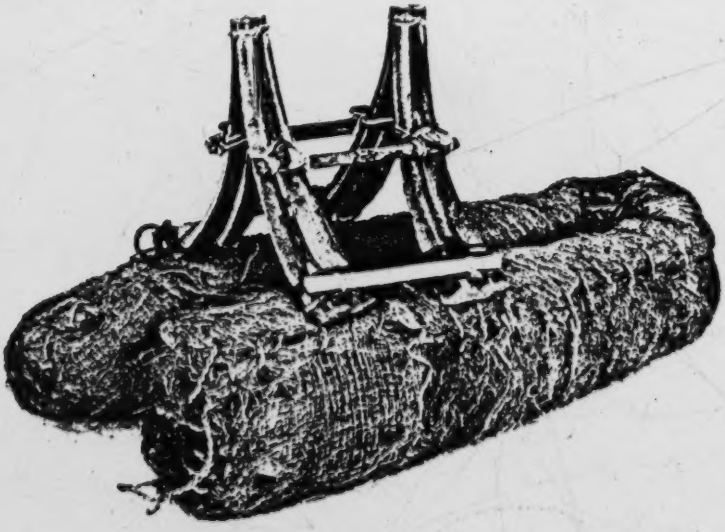

Fig. 55. The *élaki* pack saddle consisting of a saddle frame attached to a U-formed cushion made of date palm bast: The saddle frame made of palm fronds lashed with raw hide. It is called *élaki*, or *erras en élaki*. Ahaggar, Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.34 m high. (F.M. 191).
The saddle cushion of date palm bast. It is called *tihekam*. Ahaggar, Tamanraset. Dimension: 1.50 m long. (F.M. 192).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*492 fixed with a rope running under the tail and/or a rope around the camel's chest. The *elaki*-saddle is [184] unknown to the Ayr Tuareg, but I have seen it in use among Arab traders living at Iferwan of Northern [171] Ayr. It is by far the most common type of pack-saddle in both groups of Northern Tuareg.

Another type of pack-saddle named *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* corresponds to the *herej* saddle of the Arabs. It is used occasionally by the Northern Tuareg, but I have only seen it among the *Kel Ajjer*. The saddle-frame is made from date palm ribs and consists of two cross-bars connected with each other by two crossed sticks at both sides. One of the cross-bars rests in front of the animal's hump, the [223] other behind. The frame is lashed together by means of strips of raw camel-hide and is fastened to [163] two pads of palm bast as can be seen from the photograph Fig. 57. As far as I know this saddle-type, like the type above-mentioned, is manufactured by palm-growing agriculturists of the oases. This saddle type seems to be unknown among the Ayr Tuareg.

The proper pack-saddle used among the Ayr Tuareg is known to them as *aruki*. It consists of one [228] wooden arch lashed to two flat boards (Fig. 58). These two sideboards are attached to two pads made from hay stuffed into tubular pieces of dum palm matting. The two pads or mat cylinders are fitted on each side of the camel so that the wooden arch rests in front of the hump. But there is also a rear pad consisting of a stuffed skin-bag laid over the camel's back behind the hump and attached to the wooden arch by means of cords. The loading cords bear on this stuffed skin-bag and on the mat-●[564] cylinders in front of the wooden arch. The wooden arch is manufactured by blacksmiths, while the side pads and rear pad are made by the Tuareg. The saddle is not generally fixed to the camel by means of girths or cords. The place of origin for this saddle-type seems to be Ayr. It is used also among the *Kel Geres* Tuareg, and it seems as if related saddle-types occur elsewhere in the south (cf. p. 311).

*492 Transportation bags of various types are used for camel loads, but the very large bags woven from 415 a mixture of goat's hair and camel's wool so typical of northern Arab pastoralists are not in current use among the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ajjer*, and are entirely unknown to the Tuareg of Ayr. The [563] Northern Tuareg generally use bags made from the skin of barbary sheep, or bags made from date palm bast by the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. Fig. 59). In Ayr the Tuareg normally use transportation bags of plaited dum palm leaves.

The ideal load of a camel consists of two bags forming a total weight of up to 200 kgs for a very strong animal. The two bags, which together form one load, are each provided with two short loading loops. They are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *elferwet* when bags are woven, as *tadeknert* when the bags are of skin. The loading is done as follows:— The two bags are lifted up and supported against the sides of the recumbent pack-camel by two men who put the loops of one bag into those of the other and insert between them two little sticks, known in the north as *tihdad* (sing. *tehedit*). To unload the camel all one has to do is to pull out the two small sticks inserted between the loops, [170] and the two bags fall to the ground. This same system is also used in Ayr, and, I believe, among all camel-breeders of North Africa. - To secure the load in a fixed position it is very common to surround its two halves with a rope *takhamit* in Ahaggar), which is laid over the saddle-frame before loading, and another rope around the luggage and the belly of the pack-camel is also used if considered necessary.

*492 When camels are taken to the camp from pasture, they are sometimes mounted without a saddle

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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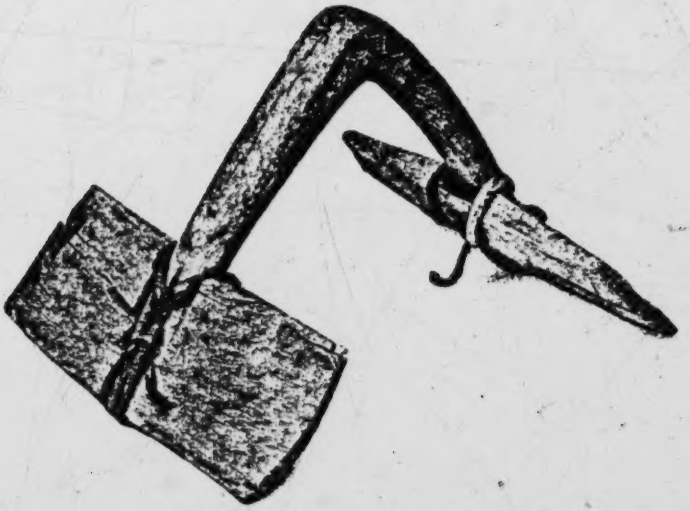

Fig. 58. Wooden saddle frame of the *aruki* type. The curved piece of wood is fastened to two boards with strips of raw hide. The frame is manufactured by an Ayr blacksmith. Bought at Tamanraset. Dimension: 0.337 m long, 0.275 m high. (N.M. G. 5247).

*492 by men and boys, who sit sideways in front of the hump resting their feet upon the animal's neck, or, [171] more rarely, behind the hump with their feet hanging down, as is the custom of Arab pastoralists of the Northern Sahara. It should be added that on long trading expeditions the Tuareg frequently content themselves with sitting on the top of their loaded pack-camels. But riding in these ways is not very pleasant, and whenever possible the Tuareg use proper riding saddles placed in front of the camel's hump so that the rider sits cross-legged in the saddle with his feet resting upon the lower part of the animal's neck.

Most Tuareg have saddles of the well-known type with a cruciformed pommel. This saddle is known [531] as *térik* which term is used for three distinct sub-types. One is known as *tekokeyt* (Fig. 60); it differs from the type known as *tamzak* mainly therein that the latter is provided with peculiar ornaments and designs (Fig. 61). These two saddles are those normally used by the Tuareg, while the third sub-type known as *bertekes* is extremely rare; it resembles the *tamzak*-saddle, but is provided with many [564] small bells fastened to be back (Fig. 62). Such saddles are hardly ever manufactured by the black-[432] smiths of Northern Tuareg countries, but are made in Ayr, notably in Agadez, where the Northern Tuareg also buy their riding saddles. Even the Arab pastoralists of the tribes *Chamba* and *Ulad Ba*

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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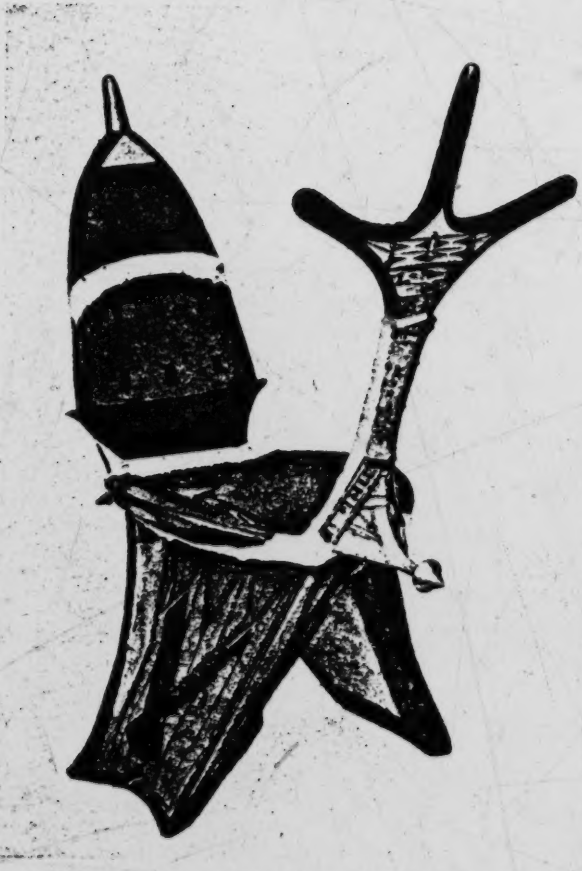

Fig. 61. Riding saddle of *tamzak* type (*térik*). Manufactured in Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: ca. 0.77 m high, 0.31 m broad. (N.M. G. 6655).

A less elegant type of riding saddle known as *tahyast* (Ahaggar) or *ahyas* (Ayr) is used rather frequently among the Northern Tuareg and occasionally in Ayr. The wooden structure of this saddle (Fig. 63) does not differ much from that of the cruciformed *térik*-type. It is lighter and less solid, and the saddle is not much esteemed among the Tuareg who use it because it is cheaper. It is manufactured [564]

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 62. Riding saddle of *bertekes* type (*térik*). This saddle was brought to the Musée de l'homme by Duveyrier. From Tasilé-n-Ajjer, probably manufactured in Ayr.

*492 mainly by blacksmiths of Adṛaṛ-n-Foṛas, which region is considered its original homeland, but it is
●564 also made at Agadez in Ayr where the wooden skeleton is often covered with hairy ox hide. The wooden
[237] structure of this saddle type is described in literature (Gabus 1949, pl. XII; 1957, p. 176).
[113] In Ayr and further south in Damergu I have often seen a very simple riding saddle which has never been mentioned in literature. It is known as *kantarki* or *delobi* (Figs. 64–65), and it is very interesting

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

that it is manufactured by pastoral Tuareg of these regions and not by blacksmiths, though the latter may also make such saddles for their own use. The wooden structure is made of two cross-bars, which are natural prongs fashioned with knife and axe, and these two cross-bars are lashed to each other at their lower ends, or are connected with each other by means of two sticks crossing each other at the two sides. A wreath of slender roots of *afagag* (*Acacia Raddiana*) covered with a network of dum palm rope may serve as a saddle seat, which can also be covered with a piece of matting plaited from the leaves of the dum palm tree. This very simple saddle may perhaps be considered the prototype of the more developed riding saddles of the *térik* and *tahyast* types.

All the above-mentioned types of riding saddles are placed in front of the camel's hump and rest upon two to four saddle cloths, the number depending upon their quality and also upon the nutritional condition of the animal. Two saddle-cloths are considered enough for a fat camel while four should be applied to a very thin one. Saddle cloths are frequently called *ésatfar* (Ayr) or *asetfer* (Ahaggar), but this name is in fact used for everything placed upon the back of an animal to protect it against galling from the luggage and/or the saddle. Saddle cloths for camels are properly termed *éselis* (Ayr) and *ameslak* (Ahaggar). Both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr saddle cloths are generally made of cotton, but they are also made from dum palm matting and a piece of leather among the Ayr Tuareg (Figs. 66–67). The riding saddles are fixed to the camel by a single girth known as *ahayif* (Ahaggar) or *azaw* (Ayr). In the north such girths are normally made from goat-hair while the Ayr Tuareg use plaited leather (goat-skin). Girths in both regions are frequently furnished with a very large tassel hanging down from the right side of the camel (Fig. 69). On rare occasions when the Tuareg ride their camels with all possible speed, e.g., at the annual camel races organized by the French administration, the riders often secure the position of their saddles by means of a long cord (*ihwéweren* among the Northern Tuareg) tied around the hind part of the camel as shown by the photograph Fig. 68.

The camel rider sits in the saddle cross-leged with his feet resting upon the camel's neck. To accelerate the speed of his riding animal he pushes one of his feet against its neck in step with the rocking gait peculiar to camels. A whip (*alekkoḍ*) also belongs to the equipment of the rider. Most whips have a single lash made from a twisted strip of hide, but whips provided with two lashes of hide attached to a wooden handle are also found and are common in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (Figs. 70a–b). The whips used in the north are said to be made from camel's hide soaked in water; the raw hide is twisted and kept in this position until it is dry. The Ayr Tuareg say that camel's hide is not well fitted for whips, which among them are manufactured from the raw hide of a newly-killed ox. A piece of this hide is twisted and left to dry as in the north. The handle of the one-lash whip is made of cotton wrapped around the upper part of the lash and covered with coloured goat-skin.

The Ahaggar Tuareg have a particular implement to hasten the speed of riding camels. It is described in literature notably by Foucauld. It consists of a slender iron rod 0.35–0.50 metres long, fixed into a wooden handle. It has a small crook much like that of a staple and is used for scratching the animal and thus to incite it to greater speed. It is called *azalla*, or *asekred* (Foucauld 1951 52. II. p. 856 & IV. p. 1960). I have never seen this peculiar implement among the Tuareg.

A camel rider's equipment comprises various types of skin bags of which the most common is a

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

saddle known as *tebeyut* or *tkhawit* and described above p. 76 (Fig. 57). The Ahaggar Tuareg have four sub-types of women's saddles:— (1) *akhawi*, that is a very large saddle at each side provided with a wooden arch; (2) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tkéwin*), a lighter saddle provided with similar wooden arches; (3) *aragen*, a large and heavy saddle without side-arches; (4) *tkhawit* (*ta-n-tehdad*), a light saddle without side-arches. These saddle types, particularly the former type known as *akhawi*, are exhaustively described by Foucauld in his dictionary (Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 723), and a very beautiful specimen is here depicted from the collection of the Musée de l'homme (Fig. 75). Very elaborate saddles as that depicted are always made by the blacksmiths, but light saddles of the *tkhawit* types may also be manufactured by Tuareg women. Thus women of the *Iregenaten* tribe south of the Ahaggar Massif make saddles of the lighter type themselves. Women's saddles may sometimes be provided with a roof made from curved and bent boughs covered with cotton or blankets. This peculiar construction is known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ahennaka*.

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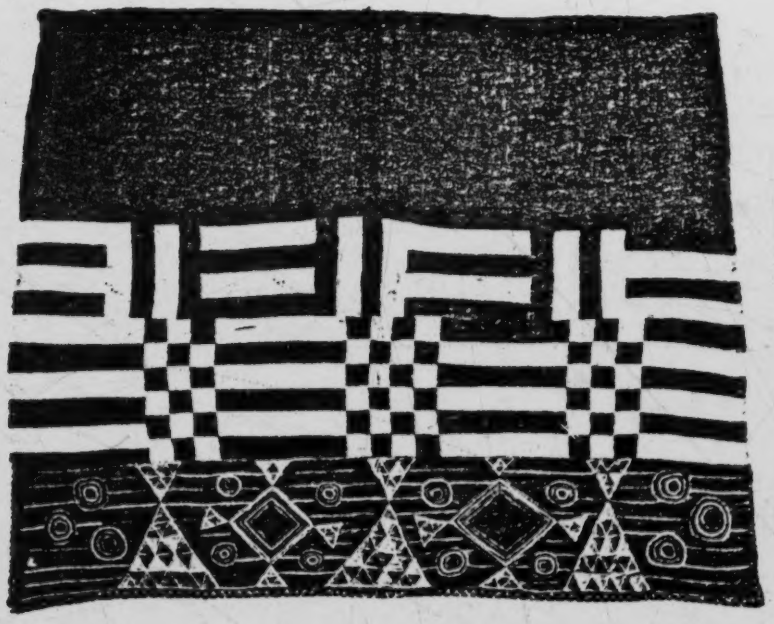

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Fig. 67. Saddle cloth (*amesloḳ*) of cotton and embroidered with coloured thread. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension: 0.771 × 0.620 m. (N. M. G. 5190).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

224 on sandy ground. This same method is also used to catch asses or wild donkeys for domestication (cf. p. 108).

(7) It has been mentioned above (p. 108) that wild donkeys are also caught by driving them into closed valleys from which they cannot escape. As far as I know the Ahaggar Tuareg do not hunt proper game animals in this way, but the driving method is used in fishing as described below (cf. p. 164).

(8) The spiked wheel-trap (*éfetaw*) (Fig. 113) connected with a noosed rope (*tarant*) attached to a piece of wood (*aɣula*) is used to catch gazelle, barbary sheep, and donkeys. Such traps are easily and quickly manufactured by the Tuareg, and when they want to trap gazelle in this way they make a great many traps which are placed in the sand around young acacias upon which the animals feed. [43] The arrangement of the spiked wheel-trap is brilliantly illustrated in literature (cf. Lhote 1951a, photos p. 112-113; Brouin 1950, p. 454).

(9) A torsion trap (*tenderbat*) provided with a noosed rope is used particularly for barbary sheep. This trap is also depicted in literature (Lhote 1951a, p. 113; Mérite 1942, p. 185). The trap is rare in Ahaggar nowadays. The Ahaggar Tuareg claim that the trap was introduced from Adraɣ-n-Foras. It is said to be unknown to the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer (cf. Fig. 114a).

● 569 177 The Ahaggar Tuareg nowadays engage little in trapping in contrast to the negroid agriculturists (the *Ḥarratin*), most of whom have steel traps (*elkhenlyet*) manufactured in Europe, or made by native blacksmiths on the European pattern. A few agriculturists have large steel traps to be used for gazelle, barbary sheep, and even for the big gazelle and antelope, but the common steel traps are small and are used mainly for hares (*émerwel*, fem. *témerwelt*; *abekni*; *Lepus harterti*), jackals (*éheggi*, *aggwr*; *Thos aureus* sp.), and fennecs (*akhorhi*, *érechter*; *Fennecus zerda*). Still smaller traps are used for minor rodents (*édewi*; *Gerbillus gerbillus*?) (*akundar*; *Masoutiera* sp.) and for certain birds such as ravens (*aralet*, *taslaft*; *Corvus ruficollis ruficollis*), pigeons (*akekkemaz*; *Columbia livia targia*), turtle-doves (*tédebirt*; *Streptopelia turtur hoggara*), and sand grouse (*tékadewt*, *tédebirt*; *Pterocles* sp.). 223

Steel traps are now widely used, and traditional trapping methods for small animals and birds are therefore rarely resorted to. Among the *Kel Ajjer* small rodents are caught in snares (*asendi*) made of leather. Snares of this kind are known both to pastoral Tuareg and to sedentary agriculturists of Ganet and Rat. Among the latter there are also two different trap-systems used for small rodents, which in both systems are killed by a flat, heavy stone falling upon them. One of these traps is named *téselselt*. I do not know whether these traps exist in Ahaggar.

223 564 Small birds, including pigeons and turtle-doves, are caught in torsion traps by sedentary agriculturists of the oases. Traps of this kind, which are normally provided with a net (cf. Fig. 114b), are found in most oases of the Northern and Central Sahara, but I have never seen them in use among pastoral Tuareg. Pigeon, turtle-dove, sand grouse, and also partridge (*Alectoris barbara duprezi*) are caught in snares made of hair. Ten or twenty of these snares (*égefey*) are attached to a string so that several birds can be taken at the same time. Bird-snaring is practised mainly by sedentary agriculturists.

262 565 Sedentary agriculturists, slaves, and some vassal Tuareg are not squeamish. Even meat of beasts and birds of prey is eaten by certain vassals, though such animals are unclean and inedible according to Islamic rules. The meat of fennecs, jackals, and a large eagle-like bird known as *tamikka* is eaten

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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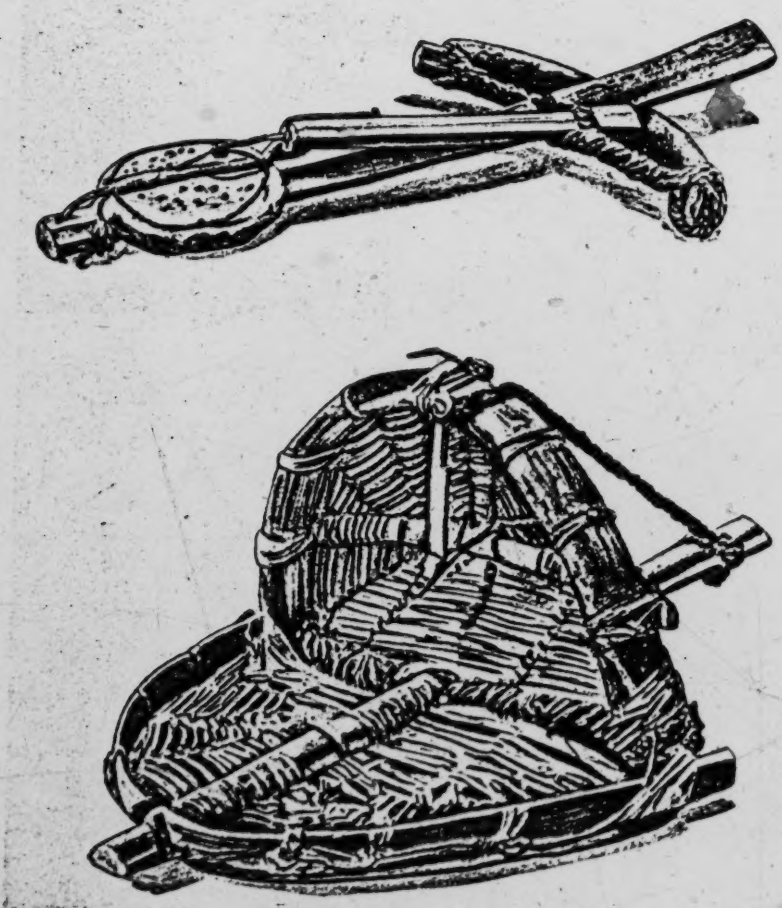

Fig. 114a–b.

a. Torsion trap of the *tenderhat* type used among the Tuareg. From the Sahara (Mériès 1942, Fig. 59).

b. Torsion trap provided with a net. This trap is known to most sedentary agriculturists of the Sahara but it is not used by pastoral Tuareg (Mériès 1942, Fig. 60).

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 115. Negroid agriculturist (*Harṭani*) with a hare caught in a steel-trap (*elkheniyet*) of European type. Ahaggar.

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by many people in vassal tribes, and jackal's meat is popular as it is considered an excellent remedy against fever (cf. Nicolaisen 1961, p. 146). But there are also many Tuareg who refuse all types of game with the exception of such animals as gazelle, barbary sheep, and antelope. Some Tuareg consider hare's meat unlawful, but this, perhaps, is a conception introduced with Islam, for many people of the religious *Ineslemen* class claim that hare should not be eaten because their blood resembles that of menstruating women. The food taboos strictly followed by all noble Tuareg are older than Islam: they never eat birds, eggs, reptiles, and fish.

These rules are not traditional for vassal Tuareg, though some of them have adopted the taboos of the noble Tuareg.

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In Northern Tuareg areas two big lizzard types are found. One of them is called *agezzeram* (*dobb* in Arabic; *Uromastix acanthinurus*). This is caught and eaten by slaves, agriculturists, and by many vassals. It is frequently taken by hand, but there is also a special implement (*taskant*, *takoda*) consisting of a stick provided with an iron crook for catching lizzards hiding in holes and under rocks. When vassal Tuareg are able to catch a great many *agezzeram*-lizzards they cut them up and dry them for sale on their regular trading expeditions in autumn to the sedentary agriculturists of Tidikelt (cf. p. 210). The *agezzeram*-lizzard is said to be the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the negroid blacksmiths (*Ineden*), because the lizzard's tail resembles a file. I do not know whether the few blacksmiths found in Northern Tuareg country eat this lizzard, but do not think they do. The lizzard is not considered very delicious, and blacksmiths have emigrated from the south where it is not generally eaten.

The other edible lizzard is named *arata* (*Varanus* sp.). It is much bigger than the *agezzeram*-lizzard just mentioned, and its meat is excellent according to the taste of most Europeans. But this big lizzard

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

is refused by noble Tuareg and in general also by vassals. One reason for this is that the Tuareg have a myth saying that the *aṛata*-lizzard is the ancestor (the mother's brother) of the noble Tuareg. Some vassals claim that it is the ancestor of all true Tuareg, but this statement does not agree with mythology (cf. Benhazera 1908, p. 61). However, this lizzard is eaten mainly by slaves and by certain agriculturists, though its meat is considered a remedy against snake-bite and scorpion stings (cf. Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.). The head of an *aṛata* is considered an excellent amulet against these poisonous animals (Lhote 1951a, p. 168 f.), and the skin of this lizzard is not only utilized for the manufacture of amulet cases but also for small bags of various types (Fig. 116a).

Small animals are not necessarily killed with any particular hunting implement. The animals may be taken with the hand or killed with sticks and stones, as is the case with the hedgehog (*ékenisi, tékenisit*), which is eaten by some people, and with small rodents. Even hares can be taken with the hand when they hide in the grass or under rocks. The hunter may then approach the hare swinging one of his sandals over his head. This, it is said, makes the animals believe that it is hunted by a hawk or an eagle, and it will therefore remain stubbornly in its hiding place. Even gazelle are sometimes taken without any proper hunting weapon. Some Tuareg say that on journeys through the barren desert country in the summer they have met gazelle so exhausted from thirst that they could take these animals with their hands. Although this is rarely possible, I know Tuareg who have crept up to gazelle hiding from the sun in daytime and killed them with a stone. Finally it can be mentioned that the

Fig. 116a–b. Two small skin bags.

a. Skin bag (*abelhoḍ n aṛata*) made from the skin of the big *aṛata* lizzard (*Varanus* sp.). Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tarhawhawt. Dimension: 0.325 m long. (N.M.G. 5834).

b. Skin bag (*abelhoḍ n témerwelt*) made from hare-skin. Ahaggar, bought from *Harratin* at Tarhawhawt, manufactured in the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.350 m long. (N.M.G. 5833).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 M525 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 130. Semi-wild date palms in the canyon-like Aharhar valley of Tasilé-n-Ajjer. The palms are owned and harvested by pastoral Tuareg.

245 (Aharhar and Éherir) where "semi-wild" palms are abundant. These palms are owned by pastoral
[221] Tuareg of various tribes. Their dates are harvested in the autumn when Tuareg palm owners with
[342] their slaves live in straw-huts or huts covered with palm leaves situated among the palm trees.

Similar plantations of palm trees which are left to themselves most of the year are also found in
245 Ahaggar, notably at Silet-Tihegîn. Part of these palms are owned by members of the *Dag Rali* tribe
423 (the sections of *Kel Tamamrasset* and *Kel Terhenanet*) and by members of the very small tribe, the
[651] *Ikechchemaden*. The palm-owners give as an annual payment to the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar one bunch
[585] of dates from all palms which have more than two bunches. The yield of another part of the palms
[651] belongs to the vassal tribe *Iklan-en-tawsit* (the sections *Kel Silet* and *Kel Tahalra*). For usufructs,
245 members of these two sections make a collective annual payments to the *Amenukal* comprising four
[221] bags of dates, twenty goats, two ropes of goat's hair, and five water bags. The dates are harvested by
[492] Tuareg of the above mentioned tribes in August-September. Harvesting is done with sickles and is
[564] finished in three to four weeks when the palm-owners return to their camps with dates packed in bags
[465] and loaded on donkeys and camels. In harvesting their dates most Tuareg are assisted by black-
[463] skinned agriculturists (*Harratin*, or *Izeggaren*) of Abalessa who are given a certain amount of dates for their work. These agriculturists build the huts in which the palm-owners live during harvest (cf. p. 338 f.).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

In literature there seems to be no reliable information about the existence of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar until Duveyrier, who states that agriculture did not obtain a fixed position in the economic life of the Ahaggar Tuareg until the reign of the *Amenukal Elkhaj Akhmed* (1830–1877) (cf. Duveyrier 1864, p. 369). This statement is confirmed by most agriculturists and pastoral Tuareg in Ahaggar, who claim that prior to *Elkhaj Akhmed* irrigation agriculture was not practised in Ahaggar. During the reign of this *Amenukal* irrigation agriculture by means of the subterranean aqueducts known to the Arabs as *foggara* (*ifeli*, pl. *ifelan*) was introduced by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs and negroid *Harratin* from the Tidikelt oases. Some people of Ahaggar claim that another irrigation system was introduced about the same time, namely irrigation wells from which water is drawn by oxen and donkeys. This system, known as *tanut*, is said to have been introduced by agriculturists from Ganet (Djanet) (the *Kel Ganet*). It should be noted that there are certain traditions which claim irrigation agriculture to be older in Ahaggar. One tradition says that it was practised at Silet-Tibeghin by Arabs who immigrated from Tawat to cultivate by means of the *foggara* system even during the reign of the *Imenan* (Lhote 1955, p. 286 f.). Another tradition, recorded by Foucauld, states that irrigation farming was known at a very remote date by the *Isebeten* – a pagan people said to be the ancestors of the oldest vassal tribes of Ahaggar (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, II, p. 535 f.). Traditions of the age of irrigation agriculture in Ahaggar are conflicting. If it was practised long before the reign of *Elkhaj Akhmed* by the ancient vassals, I believe that water was raised by human power, namely by the pole and bucket provided with a counterweight. For this system, which is known as *ajudid*, is said to have been very common in the past. It is extremely rare nowadys, and I have only seen it once at Terhenanet. There can be no doubt that this simple irrigation method is a very old one in North Africa, where it is more widely distributed than all other types of irrigation methods (cf. Capot-Rey 1953a, map VII p. 320). The very wide distribution of this system elsewhere in the Old World points to its great age, and it is perhaps to be considered the oldest true irrigation machine.

A few Tuareg in the northern groups practise irrigation agriculture, which does not seem to be one of their traditional occupations. Tuareg irrigation farmers are found mainly in the Fezzan, but mention should also be made of the people of three noble tribes, namely the *Ilemteyen* (living at Rat), the *Ikadeyen* (at Tit in Ahaggar), and the *Kel-ahem-niellen* (roaming pastoralists north of Ahaggar or settled farmers at the oasis of Infer in Tidikelt). These sedentary or semi-sedentary noble Tuareg were originally true pastoralists, though but little is known of the original mode of livelihood of the *Ikadeyen*. A few individuals or families among the Ahaggar vassals have more recently taken up irrigation agriculture in addition to stock-breeding. There seems to be a growing tendency towards semi-nomadism in Ahaggar nowadays. There may be several reasons for this. Thus one can point to the decline of caravan trading and to the fact that pastoral Tuareg cannot so easily get the true agriculturists to cultivate for them. The true agriculturists of Ahaggar comprise the *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*) of Tidikelt, who have mixed with the manumitted slaves now also known as *Harratin* (*Izeggaren*), a few fair-skinned *Ahl Azzi* Arabs, and the *Kel Ganet* who are predominantly black-skinned. All these agricultural people tend to mix with each other and also with tribes of pastoral Tuareg.

There are at present about 25 agricultural settlements in the river valleys of Ahaggar. Apart from the administration centre of Tamanrasset (1600) and the oasis of Abalessa (547) these agricultural

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

camels. This blood never constitutes a proper dish to the Tuareg. They bleed camels to drink their blood only when they lack water on journeys in the desert. Bleeding is done according to the method described above, and the blood is collected in a drinking bowl. But the Ayr Tuareg say that they work up the mass of blood with the fingers with the result that the upper part of the amount of blood becomes more liquid, though it is always red in colour.

The Tuareg use the following implements to make cereals or other vegetable products into flour:—

(1) A large wooden mortar (*tindé*) with a heavy pestle (*ẖeṛen*) (Fig. 177). It is used in all camps and villages of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, and Ayr, and is in fact known all over Tuareg country. It is used mainly for pounding millet and sorghum, but it is also employed for pounding other cereals, including certain wild seeds, and for dates, cheese, meat, locusts, and the like. These large wooden mortars are manufactured by the blacksmiths of Southern Tuareg country, including Ayr, where most Northern Tuareg obtain their mortars. Among the Northern Tuareg there are also other mortar types. A small mortar which like the former rests on a foot and is known by the same name (*tindé*) (Fig. 178), is used mainly by sedentary agriculturists for pounding rock-salt, dried tomatoes, tobacco for chewing, and other plants or materials to be used in small quantities. Another type of mortar without a foot and known to the Northern Tuareg as *akabar*, or *takabart*, (Fig. 176) is found mainly among pastoralists who use it on journeys for pounding millet.

(2) A saddle quern (*tekunt*) (Fig. 179), which consists of two natural and in general unfashioned stones, is found in most camps of the Northern Tuareg. This constitutes the only grinding implement for wheat, barley, and certain wild seeds among the *Kel Ajjer*. The stones used for saddle querns are sharpened at intervals with a hard stone or some other hard object (*tasettekut*) in order that they may grind effectively. A simple saddle quern (*asar*) is also known to the Ayr Tuareg, but it is less common there than in the north.

(3) The handmill (*tasirt*) (Fig. 181) is not a traditional implement of Tuareg culture. It is widely known all over Northern Africa both by Berbers and Arabs, by sedentary peoples and nomads living in black tents. It has been introduced to Ahaggar mainly by the immigration of the Arabic speaking Harratin (Iraggaren) of Tidikelt,

Fig. 169 a–c. Pieces of butter-milk cheese (*awles*, pl. *iwlan*).
a. Ahaggar, *Ḥarratin of* Abalessa. Dimension: 0.066–0.068 m in diameter, 0.022 m thick. (N.M. G. 5816).
b. Ahaggar, the *Ajjuh-en-tehhi* tribe. Dimension: 0.062 × 0.022 m. (N.M. G. 5817b).
c. Ahaggar, the *Ajjuh-en-tehhi* tribe. Dimension: 0.058 × 0.016 m. (N.M. G. 5817c).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 177. The large millet mortar (*tiadi*) with its heavy wooden pestle (*ihayen*). It is used almost daily for pounding millet in the camps and it is used also to pound other cereals, dates, and even meat. Mortars of this type are manufactured in Southern Tuareg country by blacksmiths. The specimen depicted is made of wood from a tree growing in the Sudan and known to the Northern Tuareg as *tuyin*. Introduced to Ahaggar from Zinder, the *Dag Bali* tribe. Dimension of the mortar: 0.445 m high, 0.299 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 1.255 m long. N.M. G. 5224a-b.

Fig. 178. Little mortar (*tiadi*) with a short wooden pestle (*ihayen*). Manufactured from wood of *absef* (*Acacia Raddiana*) by a blacksmith of Tamanrasset. Ahaggar, *Hoggaria* of Tazhawhawt. Dimension of the mortar: 0.230-0.235 m high, 0.170-0.180 m in diameter at the rim. Dimension of the pestle: 0.350 m long. (N.M. G. 5838a-b).

It is called *tkamef* and is baked in the following manner:— The millet flour is mixed with juice of *tadout*-berries (i.e., berries of *Boscia senegalensis*) and also with certain medicines unknown to my informants who said they were of Sudanese origin. This mixture is made into a solid dough with a very small content of water, and is baked in the sand where it is covered with hot sand, ashes, and embers in the same way as the bread type known as *tagella* (*tagella* in the north).

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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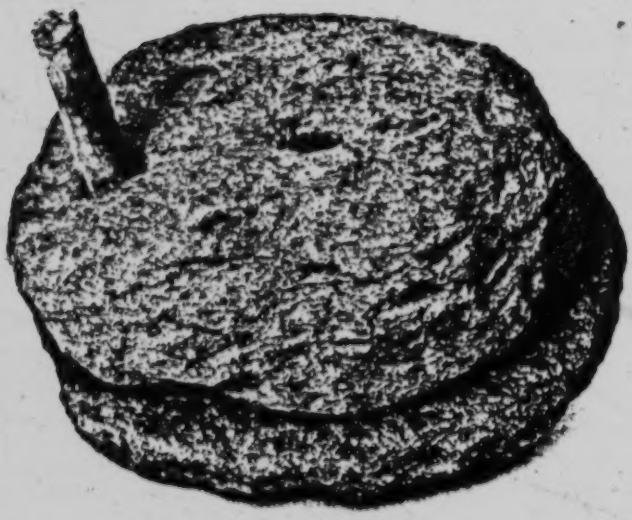

Fig. 181. A hand-mill (*tasirt*) manufactured by blacksmith of Tamanrasset and used at that village by *Ahl Azzi* Arabs. Dimension: 0.52 m in diameter (upper stone), 0.32 m in diameter (lower stone). (N.M. G. 5840a–b).

262 and red pepper which is much esteemed by the Tuareg, but not always available. The pounded flour
252 of these vegetables is boiled with water and butter and thus turned into a kind of thick sauce which is poured out over the porridge to be eaten.

The porridge type known as *esink* or *echink* can be made from other seeds besides millet. Porridge made from barley, which is then also pounded in the mortar, is highly esteemed by the Tuareg who also use various wild seeds and roots for this dish. Plants utilized for porridge are mentioned above in the description of collecting (p. 175 ff.). Porridge is also made from dried dates pounded in the millet mortar; this dish is common among the Northern Tuareg.

The Tuareg have a particular type of porridge which I have never tasted. It is known to the Ayr Tuareg as *bayela*, and is made from pounded seeds of various cultivated plants (wheat, barley, maize, or millet). The seeds are pounded in the mortar but their husks or pods are not removed by winnowing. Otherwise the preparation of this dish is similar to that of ordinary porridge.

262 The Ahaggar Tuareg distinguish between very thick porridge called *tarawayt* and very thin porridge
846 or thick gruel known as *aliwa*. The latter dish is known to the Ayr Tuareg by the same name, and

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 183. Tray or bowl *tabeyka* – perhaps not correctly spelled). It is used for winnowing, and it serves as an eating bowl and a drinking bowl as this container is watertight. Coiled basketry of date palm leaves (*afum*). Made by Tuareg woman. Ahaggar, the *Dag Rali* tribe. Dimension: 0.205 m in diameter. (F.M. 263).

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Fig. 186. Pot (*talekkist*) with a single handle. Manufactured by *Harratin* women in Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.18 m high. (F.M. 172).

in a mortar with a little water to a soft dough to which a little cheese, butter, or milk is added before eating. If a large quantity of milk is added this dish is known as *tarkit*. The Ahaggar Tuareg, as mentioned (p. 167), also pound dried dates with locusts to make a dish eaten by women who wish to grow fat. 262 252 [261]

The Arabs and the Arabic-speaking agriculturists of Tidikelt (the *Harratin*) have introduced among the Northern Tuareg the well-known North African dish generally called kuskus. The dish is known to the Tuareg as *keskesu* which is also Arabic by origin. But this dish is not the staple diet among the Northern Tuareg that it is among the Arabs and the Berbers of the Atlas. It is eaten mainly on festive occasions, and there are many Tuareg women who even to-day do not know how to prepare it. The *keskesu* dish is preferably made from wheat flour, though barley flour may also be used. The cereals are ground with hand-mills or quern stones (saddle querns), and the flour is rolled into very 262 [272] [271] 252

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 187a–b. Earthen cooking pots manufactured by *Harratin* women in Ahaggar.
a. Pot (*téṛirt*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanṛasset. Dimension: 0.210 m high. (N.M. G. 5841).
b. Pot (*alekkin*). Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tarhawhawt. Dimension: 0.174 m high. (N.M. G. 5204).

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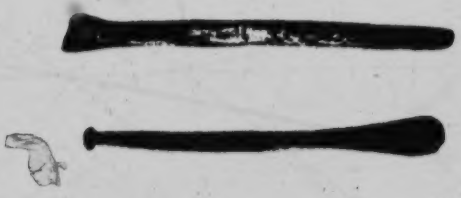

Fig. 188a–b. Simple ladles of the *aserwi* type used for stirring millet porridge. Made by Tuareg women from wood of *abser* (*Acacia Raddiana*).
a. Ahaggar, the *Afuh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.382 m long. (N.M. G. 5211).
b. Ahaggar, the *Ikeyawen Hada* tribe. Dimension: 0.415 m long. (N.M. G. 5846).

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*[415] small balls with a diameter of up to five milimetres. The balls are put into a special earthen, wooden, or plaited bowl (*denba*, or *denfu*; Fig. 189) which has a number of small holes in the bottom. This receptacle is placed on the top of a cooking pot containing meat and/or vegetables to be boiled in water for a soup. The small flour balls are thus steamed by the boiling soup in the cooking pot. Like

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7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

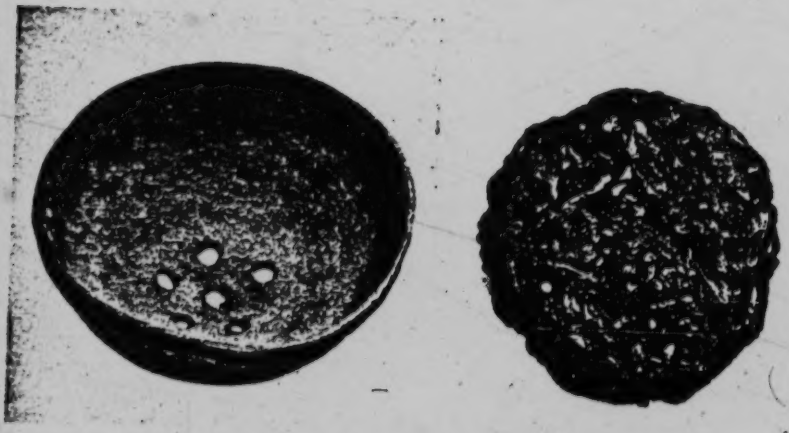

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Fig. 189. Earthen jar (*drafa*, or *dreba*) of the particular type used for the preparation of *keskesu*. Ahaggar, *Harratin* of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.16 m high, 0.30 m in diameter. (F.M. 215).

Fig. 190. A kind of cake (*tarfat*) made of onions and dates which are mixed and pressed. Such cakes are made in Tidikelt but are sold at Tamanrasset by Arab merchants. They are pounded in the mortar or are crushed between two stones before cooking. Dimension: 0.10 m. (N.M. G. 5847a).

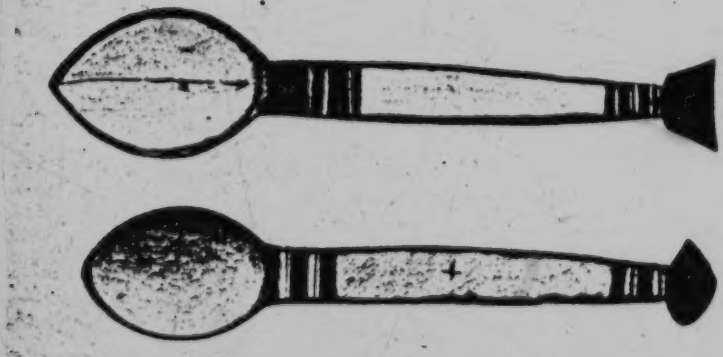

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Fig. 191. Wooden spoons (*tesukalt*, pl. *tisukalin*) cut by blacksmiths from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptiaca*). Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehlé* and the *Dag Ball* tribes. Dimension: ca. 0.26–0.28 m. (F.M.).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 194a–c. Bowl-like ladles from Ahaggar and Ayr. They are used mainly for eating liquid dishes – in particular for the dish known as *ayekaru* (Ahaggar) or *ayeliru* (Ayr).

a. Ladle (*tamulat*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptioca*). Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.285 m long, 0.110–0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5845).

b. Ladle (*tamulat*). Ayr, Agadez. Dimension: 0.330 m long. (N.M. G. 6631).

c. Ladle-like bowl (*assar*) cut by blacksmith from wood of the *taburak* tree (*Balanites aegyptioca*). Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs of Tamanraset. This ladle-like bowl was not used for food but for conservation of fine-grained sand used for hair-dressing together with water and butter. Dimension: 0.330 m long, 0.120 m in diameter (the bowl). (N.M. G. 5879).

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264 frequently consisting of bread or porridge eaten rather late at night. The Ayr Tuareg have related terms for their meals:— (1) *tegingint* which is a prepared meal eaten late in the morning. (2) *timekkelewt* which is the prepared meal taken at midday. (3) *temegint*, late evening meal which is the main meal in Ayr, as in Ahaggar. In addition to these meals there is a very light meal taken with tea immidiately after rising. It is known as *elfetur*.

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[511] Incidentally there are Tuareg who do not have food enough to eat three times a day.

During times when Tuareg subsist exclusively on milk they have no regular meals. The amount of milk needed to support life is very great, and it is drunk slowly during the day. On extensive journeys when the camels cross the barren deserts, the Tuareg also do not have regular meals as they do in their camps.

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[Text continues on p. 255]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 195a. Wooden eating bowl (*tayr-har*) made by Ayr blacksmith. Ahaggar, the *Ajjeh-en-tehli* tribe. Dimension: 0.095 m high, 0.253 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 5212).

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Fig. 195b. Wooden eating bowl (*elkade*) manufactured by blacksmith from wood of the *ruyis* tree and provided with an iron handle. Ayr, blacksmiths of Damergu. Dimension: 0.43 m in diameter. (N.M. G. 6632).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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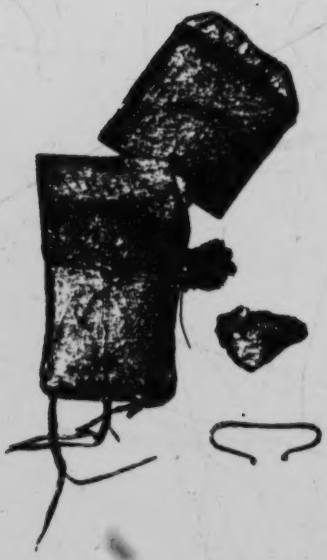

Fig. 198. Flint (*tafarast*), steel (*énefed*), and lighting material (*tajferi*). The lighting material, which is conserved in a leather bag (*tarallabt*), is made from wood of *teférjast* (*Echinops Bovei*). Ahaggar, the *Aŋuh-en-tehlé* tribe. Dimension of the steel 0.065 m long. (F.M. 154a–d).

4/2 tools, e.g., for hammering tent pegs into the ground, for rope making as described below, for separating the hide from the body when skinning a barbary sheep, and for crushing rock-salt, red pebber, dried tomatoes, tobacco, and the like. We have seen above that the Tuareg saddle querns used for grinding cereals are natural stones of a particular form and size, and that they are used for grinding without any particular fashioning, though sometimes treated with a hard stone or a piece of iron to make the [324] grinding surface more rugged and effective. The handmill is never manufactured by pastoral Tuareg (cf. p. 214 ff., Figs. 179–182).

4/2 172 Prehistoric quern stones and stone pestles are found in many regions of the Central Sahara and these ancient implements, I was told, are sometimes used by the Tuareg of Ahaggar for grinding and pounding (Fig. 200). The Tuareg also use the numerous neolithic stone axes (Fig. 199) as whetstones for iron knives. These axes are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *taḍeft n eŋenna*, that is "the axe of the rain (or the thunder)", and all Tuareg believe that they have fallen from the sky during heavy storms.

301 Stone material is still used for certain Tuareg ornaments, and notably for the well-known arm-ring (*ahbeg* in Ahaggar, *éweki* in Ayr) which is worn by most adult men and also by some boys. These rings are sometimes mentioned in literature as a weapon, but they are not well fitted for this owing [564] to their fragility. Most arm-rings are made from soft stone such as serpentine, and are manufactured by blacksmiths (Ineden).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

534
323
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Fig. 202a–b. Two ceramic drums of a type used by sedentary agriculturists in Ahaggar.

a. Large drum (*akraïaf*). Made by woman of the *Ḥarratin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.450 m high, 0.310–0.325 m in diameter at the top. (N.M. G. 5907).

b. Little drum (*abakar*). Made by woman of the *Ḥarratin* at Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.25 m high, 0.25 m in diameter at the top. (F.M. 286).

17*

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 203. Earthen incense jar (*elbakkhar*). Ahaggar, *Harrotin* at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.179 m high. (N.M. G. 3889).

512). Most pastoral Tuareg of Ayr get their pots from Agadez, but pots are also imported from the south where they are of superior quality. These pots are said to be manufactured by black-skinned *Igdalen* Tuareg (cf. p. 432) of the southlands, notably by people of the *Ikenawen* class which comprises professional pot-makers. These people are not found among the *Kel Ayr* but are common in camps of the *Kel Geres* where I have met them. They speak *tamachek* but also have their own language which is said to be related to *Songay*. The pots made by these southern people are painted and decorated (cf. Fig. 205) in contrast to those of Agadez which are plain and of very simple forms (Figs. 204a–b). So far as I am aware painted and decorated pottery is rarely manufactured in Ayr nowadays. But Rodd states that such pottery in the form of pitchers with a blue design is made near Agadez (Rodd 1926a, p. 160 f., pl. 22 p. 209), and when I investigated ruins of stone houses at Iferwan I found a great many sherds of finely-decorated painted pots which must have been used up to the end of the great Tuareg revolt in 1917 when these houses were destroyed by the French. Lhote has also mentioned the decline of pottery techniques in Ayr, and he states that, apart from little incense jars, no painted and decorated pots are manufactured at Agadez nowadays (Lhote 1950c, p. 511).

Certain metal receptacles were known to the Tuareg long before the European occupation, notably a cooking pot (*érir*) made from copper, and the flat drinking bowl (*tamennast*) made from tinned copper or brass in Tripolitania, or in Tunisia. Metal receptacles are also manufactured by native blacksmiths in Tuareg country, e.g., the pail (*érir*) to be used for liquid butter (Fig. 164).

The blacksmiths are excellent wood-workers and make most wooden domestic utensils used by pastoral Tuareg (Figs. 21b, 37, 38, 58, 60, 61, 62, 63a–b, 75, 150, 153–154, 166, 176, 177, 178, 191, 194, 195, 212a, 219a–b, 285). The main implements for wood working are axes and adzes (Figs. 206a–d).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 206a–d. Axe and adzes of the Ahaggar Tuareg.

a. The ordinary axe (*asfalt*) which is found in all Tuareg camps. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: 0.572 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.157 m long, 0.053 m broad. (N.M. G. 5233).

b. *Asteuet*, a small socket-shafted adze with knee-shaft. Adzes of this type are common in Tuareg camps. They are used mainly by women for wood-carving. Ahaggar, the *Aguh-en-tehle* tribe. Dimension: 0.301 m long. (N.M. G. 5232). [322]

c. *Akadaw*, adze shafted by means of a piece of sheet-iron and nails. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Abalessa. Dimension: 0.440 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.130 m long, 0.058 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5864).

d. *Akadaw*, slot-shafted adze. Ahaggar, blacksmiths of Tamanrasset. Dimension: 0.430 m long; dimension of the iron blade: 0.222 m long, 0.065 m broad at the edge. (N.M. G. 5865).

The axe and the adzes are all made by blacksmiths. [564]

The very best ropes or cords manufactured by the Ahaggar Tuareg are those made from goat's hair which is sheared with a knife by the women once a year in the hot season. These ropes are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *ihellumen* (sing. *ahellum*), while the proper term for a rope of goat's hair in Ayr is *azaw*. But the Ayr Tuareg do not make such ropes as they have goats of the short-haired breed (p. 33). They obtain their ropes from the Ahaggar Tuareg. Ropes of goat hair are manufactured by women by the following method:— The mass of hair, known as *ehafilen*, is placed upon a piece of skin and is prevented from blowing away by means of a stone. The hair is then taken out in small quantities with the first and second fingers of the left hand to be spun upon a stick 30–40 cms long.

[293] [237] [233] [438] [462]

[Text continues on p. 266]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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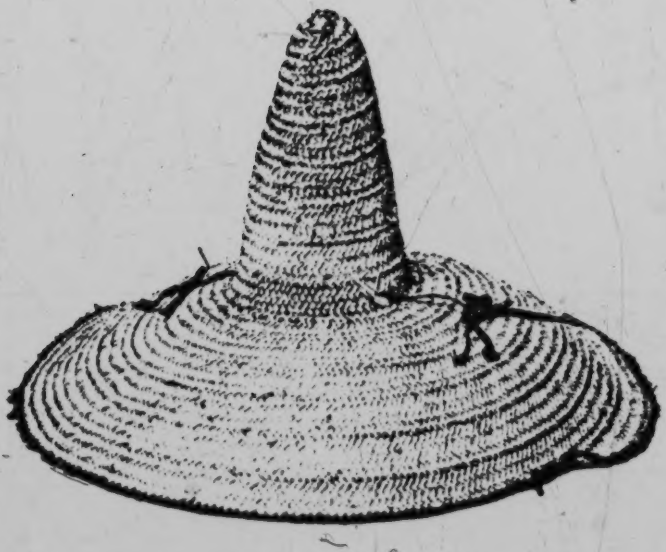

Fig. 231. Woman's straw-hat (*idié*) plaited from straps of date palm leaves (*aḡum*). Ahaggar, the *Dag Ali* tribe; manufactured at Abalessa. Dimension: 0.565 m in diameter. (N.M.G. 5276).

386 to the Ayr Tuareg as *tamezgoyt*. It is found both in Ahaggar and in Ayr, and is used for dyeing tent-skins (cf. p. 361).

281
462
A number of the most common skin bags and similar objects of decorated leather work made by Tuareg women in Ahaggar are reproduced in Figs. 220–229.

*[545]
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Though the pastoral Tuareg women in the north are excellent leather workers they find their superiors in the blacksmiths women and those of the *Imeggedezen* of Agadez. Women of these sedentary negroid groups provide pastoral Tuareg with leather objects like sword-sheaths, amulet cases, leather purses, large saddle bags, cushions, and the like (cf. Figs. 72a, 76, 121a–b, 172a–b, 198).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Arab bedouins is given by Finbert:— "Dans les jours de disette, on pulvérise les ossements de la carcasse, et bien que l'Islam interdise l'usage du sang, on l'y mêle en le recueillant d'une veine que l'on ouvre à un chameau. De ce mélange on fait une pâtée que l'on dévore. En cas de famine prolongée, on mange de la corne moulue avec des trayons macérés dans du sang. Le sang lui-même, toujours pris sur l'animal vivant, est versé dans des boyaux qui sont ensuite grillés comme du boudin" (Finbert 1938, p. 39). It is very possible that the custom of breeding live animals for food has once been widely known among many people of the area now dominated by Islam; thus Ibn Batutah mentions a Turanian people among whom blood of live horses is used for food (Ibn Batutah III, p. 24).

Among the Tuareg a certain medical value is attached to camel's urine (p. 127), but they do not wash in it as do many Arab bedouins of the Peninsula. A conception of camel's urine as something clean seems to exist among many camel-breeders, and Thesiger mentions that bedouins of Southern Arabia wash their hands in camel's urine before milking (Thesiger 1959, p. [illegible]).

It is evident that some traits of camel-breeding resemble customs known also to African cattle-breeders, and it seems as if these customs are widely found among people who breed one-humped camels. – Certain traits of camel-breeding are peculiar to the Tuareg and a few adjacent peoples.

In contrast to all other camel breeding peoples the Tuareg and some adjacent peoples have riding saddles that they place in front of the camel's hump (p. 78 ff.). The common saddles are those known as *térik*, comprising the two main types named *tamzak* and *tekokeyt*, the most developed riding saddles among the Tuareg. These saddles are also used by some of the Northern Arabs, notably the *Ulad Bu Hammu* and the *Chamba* who import them from Southern Tuareg country – particularly from Agadez where the best saddles are made. The *térik* saddles with a cruciformed pommel are quite peculiar to the Tuareg.

The Tuareg saddle known as *ahyas* or *tahyast* (Fig. 63) resembles the *térik* type in that it is also placed in front of the camel's hump, so that camels are ridden in exactly the same manner as with *térik*-saddles. The *ahyas* type is not mentioned from the *Kel Dennek* Tuareg. But it is extremely common among the *Western Iullemmeden* and is said to have originated in Aḍraṛ-n-Foras. Further west among the Moors, a riding saddle somewhat resembling the *ahyas* type seems to form the common type. It differs from the *ahyas* mainly in that it has a very low pommel and a very broad and deep seat. Several specimens of this Moorish saddle type are found in the Musée de l'homme in Paris (e.g., nos. D. 33.24.14 & 34.76.15). These Moorish saddles are placed in front of the hump like all Tuareg riding saddles, but I have been told that owing to their peculiar structure the riders cannot generally reach the camel's neck with their feet, so that they ride more bumpily and less steadily than the Tuareg, who secure their position by stemming their naked feet against the camel's neck. This is also seen from photographs of camel riders from Mauretania (cf. Puigaudeau 1945, ill. p. 128–129).

The *térik* and *ahyas* saddles are always made by blacksmiths, and this is probably also the case with the Moorish riding saddles. But as mentioned above (p. 82 ff.) the Tuareg of Ayr make certain primitive riding saddles themselves, and these, called *kantarki* or *delobi*, are perhaps the prototypes of the more developed saddles made by the blacksmiths. Tuareg riding saddles for camels do not seem to have been introduced to Africa by the Arabs of the Peninsula where such saddles are unknown. The use of a single rein attached to a metal ring fixed in the right nostril of the riding camel is perhaps

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

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Fig. 254. Cylindrical huts with conical roofs. The Fezzan area. Photograph by Dr. Erik Smidt, Copenhagen.

*342 Duveyrier states that in such fixed camps ("campements
C564 de station") the noble Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer live in tents, while the vassals use straw-huts (Duveyrier
[361] 1864, p. 403). The Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer agreed that this was so in the past, but nowadays noble Tuareg and vassals alike prefer the straw-hut in summer because the leather tent is extremely hot at that season. Barth also states that many vassal Tuareg of the *Kel Ajjer* do not live in leather tents like the noble Tuareg, but in round, conical huts akin to those of Central Africa, and he says that many Tuareg of the *Ajjer* group have an intermediate position between sedentary and nomadic people (Barth 1857–58, I, p. 257). Everything seems to indicate that the straw-huts (*ikebran*) used among the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer form the traditional dwelling of most vassal Tuareg, and it seems as if the round and conical *ékeber* type is of more ancient date with them than the square or rectangular type A.5.b.

*342 Cylindrical huts with a conical roof are used by the Tuareg who live in the Fezzan area, and they are also here somewhat mixed with the square or rectangular straw hut. This is stated by Despois who describes these dwellings in some detail (Despois 1946, p. 83 f.). A round hut with conical roof similar to the hut mentioned above from the Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, but having 16 forked sticks around the central post instead of 9, is described in detail by Scarin from the Tuareg of the Radames region (Scarin 1934, I, p. 112 f., Fig. 90–94 & phot. 42).

In Ahaggar cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs are less common than in Tasilé-n-Ajjer. I have seen very few of them, and they seem to be of different origins as follows:—

[22] Huts akin to the round *ékeber* type described above from Tasilé-n-Ajjer were seen in the *Amenukal*'s camp close to the village of Abalessa, and the same type occurred at Silet where it was used by Tuareg pastoralists of the tribes *Iklan-en-tawsit*, *Ikechchemaden*, and *Dag Rali* during their stay at Silet to harvest dates. These latter huts were made from very thick poles of palm trunk and their construction was identical to that described from Tasilé-n-Ajjer above (cf. Fig. 253 a-b). The palm trunk poles were

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

cleft at their tops to provide a sort of prong to support horizontal laths and roof laths. These dwellings were not built by the Tuareg themselves, but were erected by sedentary agriculturists of Abalessa who assisted the Tuareg during harvest. It is most likely that there is a connection between these huts and those used among pastoral Tuareg of Tasilé-n-Ajjer, for they are built according to the same structural principle.

Three huts constructionally somewhat akin to the round *ékeber* described above from Ahaggar were seen at Abalessa. The huts were inhabited by blacksmiths (*Inedlen*), who had immigrated from Adrar of the Iforas comparatively recently, and they claimed that the huts were built according to a method generally applied in their original homeland.

The photograph Fig. 254 taken by Dr. Erik Smidt, Copenhagen, who has travelled in Tripolitania and in the Fezzan, shows a cylindrical hut with a conical roof of a type found in the latter region. Huts or houses of much the same type are also depicted by Barth from Éderi (cf. Barth 1857–58, I, Ill. p. 153). I believe that all these dwellings built of plant material in the regions of Ahaggar, Tasilé-n-Ajjer, the Fezzan, and Tripolitania are related to each other, and they are perhaps also historically related to cylindrical houses with more solid walls built of stone. I have in fact seen one such dwelling in Tasilé-n-Ajjer (in Oued Aharhar close to Afara).

Cylindrical huts and houses are used for summer dwellings by the people of Medenine in Tunisia where these dwellings fall into two groups:— (1) the *kib* which is covered with mats, and (2) the *lahla* which has a wall built of stone (cf. Bernard 1924, p. 19 f.). The cylindrical mat-covered hut, the *kib*, is also described from Tunisia by Despois. It has a central post fixed in the ground and carrying a cross-bar which is further supported by two poles — one at each of the ends of the cross-bar. Certain huts, also known as *kib*, have an oblong form, but most of them are cylindrical. Certain huts are portable, but the majority is a kind of permanent or semi-permanent dwelling for poor people during the summer (cf. Despois 1955, p. 404 f., pl. XVI Fig. 1).

Cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs seem to be of very great age in North Africa, having been known to the ancient Eastern Libyans (cf. Bates 1914, p. 169 f.). Great age must no doubt also be attached to cylindrical buildings with conical roofs used as barns among the Kabyle of Djurdjura.

Cylindrical houses or huts with conical roofs also occur within Southern Tuareg country, but they are to my knowledge nowhere built by pastoral Tuareg of this extended region. In Ayr I have noticed that such huts or houses are also extremely rarely used by sedentary agriculturists. I have only seen this dwelling form at Iferwan and at Ingal.

At Iferwan there seemed to be only two cylindrical dwellings which were built within a sort of compound together with a square *téjira* hut and a beehive hut (cf. A.5.a & A.8.). Both buildings were thatched with straw, which at the top was formed into a kind of tuft as is frequently seen with some Sudanese huts. One of them had a cylindrical wall consisting of a piece of matting, while the other had a wall plastered with mud – also very common in Sudanese villages. I believe that the forms of both dwellings were due to Sudanese influence, but I did not investigate their structure. That cylindrical huts or houses with conical roofs occur at Iferwan has also been mentioned by Foureau (Foureau 1905, p. 883 ff.).

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

*342 281 shape. In Southern Tuareg groups the skin tents also vary much in size, but they tend to be larger. Thus it is stated by Nicolas that skin tents among the *Kel Dennek* measure up to one hundred square metres (Nicolas 1938, p. 54), and Lhote says that 80–150 skins are used for sheets of the very large tents of the *Tengerregif* Tuareg (Lhote 1947a, p. 100).

[809] The Tuareg themselves do not refer to the size of a tent by counting the number of skins, or by measuring. The size of a tent is indicated by reference to the number of skin rows in the longitudinal direction of the sheet, and these rows of skin are known to the Ahaggar Tuareg as *tarda* (cf. Foucauld 1951–52, I, p. 247 ff.). I have myself seen extremely small tents having a sheet of only three *tarda*, but a tent of normal size will generally have four or five such skin rows, and some even have six or seven *tarda*. Among the Northern Tuareg the sheet is manufactured in Tuareg camps by pastoral women and their female slaves. Among the *Kel Dennek*, tent sheets are manufactured by women of the blacksmith caste (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 155).

[462] [562] [564]

*342 285 A mat to be drawn around the lower part of the dwelling constitutes a very essential part of Tuareg skin tents. This mat is generally made from the stems of *afezu* (*afezu*) grass (*Panicum turgidum*) tied together with leather strips as already described. A tent mat at times is divided into two halves which are rolled up and placed at each of the narrow ends of the tent during hot weather so that currents of air may pass through. When weather is cold and also when storms are raging, the Tuareg close their tents with these mats, which may also be drawn out to form a kind of low courtyard in front of the tent (cf. Figs. 267–269). The straw mat made from *afezu* stems tied to one another is known as *éseber* (pl. *isebran*) both among the Northern Tuareg and in Ayr, while the name of a tent mat among the *Kel Dennek* is *šitek* (cf. Nicolas 1950a, p. 154), or *chitek* according to our transcription system. Among the Northern Tuareg, tent mats are generally about one metre high, while varying much as to length. These mats very frequently serve as a kind of wind-screen leaning against poles,

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Fig. 267. Skin tent seen from the back. The shape of the sheet is most irregular. Ahaggar, the *Aǧuh-en-tehlé* tribe.

[text continues on p. 364]

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

placed directly under the drum-chief. The vassals counter-attacked and won the battle. They made four prisoners and took as booty two horses and several riding camels (unknown how many). As his part the drum-chief took one horse and five camels. But he also took the four prisoners to his camp. He kept them there for about a month, when they were released, dressed in new clothes, and mounted on excellent riding camels with good saddles.

(3) *ékechchedi* – perhaps written *ékejjedi* – that is booty taken by vassals during raids carried out without the permission of their noble lord. In this case the latter would take all booty for himself and leave nothing for the vassals, who were not allowed to engage in warfare and raiding on their own account – unless attacked by foreign raiders.

We see from the above-mentioned rules that the political system of the *Kel Ferwan* group is based upon a more strict relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals than among the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is very interesting that the *Kel Ferwan* vassals made no annual payments for land-rights. Any vassal tribe lived within a particular territory which was given to it by the drum-chief, and the vassals were not allowed to defend their areas without his consent. The drum-chief claimed to possess all land and he gave particular grazing grounds to particular tribes.

Even vassal Tuareg say that the drum-chief could be very strict and severe with them in the past. But here it should be remembered that there were limits to his power, as he could not refuse his subjects the right of blood-revenge. It should also be reiterated that the drum-chief was elected by his vassals, who could also dismiss him. And strictness or severeness with his vassals was not the drum-chief's normal way of conduct. Like other noble Tuareg he would normally not only associate with the vassals on intimate terms, but would also joke with them. A joking-relationship (*adélen*) related to that of cross-cousins and brothers and sisters-in-law, including sham-fights and minor "thefts", existed between all noble Tuareg and all vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group. They would joke with each other unless there was a great difference in age. But although joking was reciprocal, it is said that the drum-chief could stop joking, in which case the vassals would "be afraid of him". "People who are different tease each other to prevent trouble", the Tuareg say. For this reason there was joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, but joking between members of these two different Tuareg classes did not occur unless they belonged to the same drum-group. There would be no joking between vassals of the *Kel Ferwan* group and noble Tuareg of the *Kel Fadey*. In this latter case there would be avoidance or strict reserve. There seems to be little doubt that joking played an important part in the maintenance of the class-division which formed the basis of political organization. It is important to mention in this context that joking among the Tuareg is a sign of friendship. It prevents conflicts and thereby it establishes a friendship relation. This is true also of present day joking between noble Tuareg and vassals, and between all Tuareg and various black-skinned people such as the *Inesseddezen* and even *Iklan*. This particular type of joking relationship is clearly related to that between cross-cousins, the more so as joking partners of different classes or castes will very frequently address each other as *abubuz* (pl. *ibubazen*), that is "cross-cousin". I return to the functional position of joking in Tuareg society in a later chapter.

It is said that marriages between noble Tuareg and vassals did not take place in the past. This statement seems to be almost true, for though I have enquired much into this matter I have only

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

in the same way as a male Tuareg slave-owner. When a slave marries a slave girl the latter becomes the daughter-in-law of her husband's owner, and there will consequently be a kind of avoidance between these persons as between other relatives-in-law of different generations. In connection with slave-marriages it is of some interest to mention the following custom practised among the Tuareg of Ahaggar:—

Among the Tuareg of Ahaggar a man has a certain marriage priority to his mother's brother's daughter according to rules which are outlined in the next chapter (p. 458 ff.). Therefore when a Tuareg's mother's brother's daughter marries somebody else the first man vill be entitled to a pair of sandals from the groom. In agreement with this custom a slave when marrying a slave-girl must give a pair of sandals to his wife's owner's ("father's") sister's son as explained in the diagram above (Fig. 292).

(2) The husband in a Tuareg pastoral family stands in the relationship of "father-in-law" (*adeggal*) to all slaves owned by his wife, while the wife is the "mother-in-law" (*tadeggalt*) of all slaves owned by her husband. Between these fictive relatives-in-law there is institutional avoidance which, however, is far less strictly observed than for true relatives by marriage of different generations. Owing to these rules a man must not or should not marry a slave girl owned by his divorced or deceased wife, just as it would be improper to marry a daughter-in-law.

(3) It is not forbidden for a man to marry a slave-girl whom he owns, even though she is considered his "daughter". This does not disagree with ordinary kinship-rules for a man is permitted to marry some of his classificatory daughters. If a man marries his own slave girl his children, among the Ayr Tuareg, would not be considered *Ichardanen* or *Iburelliten*, that is "mulattoes". They have the right to be considered true Tuareg or *Imajeren*, but in case of disagreements between a Tuareg of this type, and other people, they will call him by one of the terms used for "mulattoes", and may even call him "slave". If a man marries a slave girl who does not belong to him, his children of that marriage will not become true Tuareg. But a Tuareg who wishes to marry a woman of slave status or a mulatto will attempt to secure the acknowledgment of his wife and her children as true Tuareg by the payment of a high bride-price. Thus a Tuareg of Ahaggar who married a mulatto girl gave for bride-wealth seven camels as is customary for noble Tuareg in the two northern groups, though the price according to traditional rules should not exceed the value of one camel. It must be added that the position in Tuareg society of people who are not true Tuareg by origin depends greatly upon personal qualities. If a man is wise, rich, and generous, or if he is a marabut, all Tuareg will be ready to associate with him on equal terms even though he be predominantly negroid. I have noted several examples of this, and once met a very negroid nomad who was greatly respected by all Tuareg because he had once killed seven goats in one day to entertain foreign guests. There are certain classes and castes in Tuareg society. Formally it seems comparatively easy for children of mixed marriages of Tuareg and slaves to be considered Tuareg as slaves have a social position different from that of true black-skinned castes.

(4) If a slave woman has suckled a Tuareg girl or has taken a little fair-skinned Tuareg girl to her as her own, she will be recognized as the girl's true mother. And if the slave woman has children of her own they will be recognized as brothers and sisters of the little Tuareg girl. When the Tuareg girl later marries, her husband will be considered the true son-inlaw of her slave-mother and there will

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

585 the broad side turning westwards. Inside the tent there is nothing beyond the large bed (*tédabut*) covered with mats and blankets.

(2) The wedding guests perform the ceremonial camel-ride (*ilugan*) in the afternoon and continue to sing, make music, and dance throughout the night.

[262] (3) The wedding feast continues the next day with the killing of an ox for the guests. On this day early in the night (about nine o'clock), the groom comes to the wedding tent. He is closely veiled and walks in the middle of a large procession of men and some women. The procession walks slowly, the [533] women accompanying it shrilling and cheering. If the camp is situated close to Agadez the procession is led by professional musicians who on this occasion are on horseback. When the procession has arrived at the wedding tent the groom enters into it directly and without much formality, but does [564] so through the narrow end turning southwards. Some of his friends squat around him in the tent while a few blacksmiths drum and praise the groom in songs which also refer to the fact that the blacksmiths have arrived in order to transform the wedding into a great feast. When the groom has entered the tent most guests continue to dance and make music until about eleven o'clock, when the bride arrives.

(4) The bride is led towards the wedding tent by a procession of singing women who are not accompanied by musicians mounted on horses even if the camp is close to Agadez. The procession proceeds extremely slowly, and sometimes almost marks time. The women sing the praise of the veiled bride who walks in the middle of the procession behind a tall woman. The bride's hands are around the tall woman's waist, and she is hidden under a large piece of white cotton placed over the tall woman's shoulders and back. When the procession is close to the tent it is joined by many men and by the drumming blacksmiths who lead the procession to the wedding tent. Here the procession walks three times around the tent, stopping in front of the narrow entrance facing southwards. The women now claim the promise of a gift from the groom to his bride (cf. p. 462). When a gift has been promised the tall woman creeps into the tent with the bride clinging to her back. The bride is placed upon the bed together with the groom who is already sitting there, the mat at the southern end is drawn to and closed, and the bride and the groom are left alone. The wedding is now over, and the guests leave for their tents and camps.

(5) The bride and the groom now remain seven days in the tent. They leave it only to releave nature [591] and preferably after darkness. When this stay of seven days in the wedding tent is over, the newly-married couple immediately take up residence in the camp of the husband's father.

From the description of Tuareg wedding ceremonies above we see that they develop very slowly. This is particular so in Ahaggar, where the bride and the groom are brought together to be separated again before being finally united in the correctly erected tent. In Ayr the bride and the groom are brought together more directly, but do not meet until the second day of the wedding feast. They then have to enter the tent in an abnormal way – through the narrow southern end. The fact that the ceremony develops slowly and that the tent is not correctly erected are traits typical both of the Ahaggar and the Ayr Tuareg.

585 121 It is clear that the groom and the bride during the ceremony live so to speak outside the community. Tuareg wedding ceremonies are characteristic rites of passage and contain traits common to many